

Kannada Research Lectures Series No 2

THREE LECTURES

BY

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DHARWAR

1941


PRICE RUPEE ONE

Published by
R S Panchamukhi, M A
Director of Kannada Research, Bombay Province,
at his office in Saraswat Colony, at Dharwar

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Printed by
V Y Jathar
Karnatak Printing Works,
D H A R W A R



Smritis are inter-related to each other and either of them might be reasonably expected to throw light on the other and that a correct knowledge of the Smritis is therefore indispensable, is most valuable since it opens up a new line of approach to the interpretation of the obscure texts of early inscriptions, particularly those bearing upon the nature and functions of the constitutional bodies mentioned in them, which have not been understood so far in their true perspective

In the second and third lectures, Mr Subrahmanya Aiyar discusses at length many points of interest which awaited a clear elucidation in the ancient history of the Dekkan and Karnatak. He holds that Akālavarsha Śubhatunga mentioned in the spurious Mercara plates of the Western Ganga king Avinīta is a historical person and an earlier Rāshtrakūta king whom the Western Chalukya Jayasimha I is said to have defeated and that Prithivīduvarāja mentioned in the Kopparan plates as a subordinate of Pulikēsin II is to be identified with Prithivī Yuvarāja figuring in a Chezerla inscription of the time of the early Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I. From the Garuda banner and the title *Janapadādhipati* etc., the latter chief is taken to be a scion of the Rāshtrakūta extraction. It has thus been shown that the Rāshtrakūtas were first subordinate to the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century A. D. who in turn were subdued by the former under Dantidurga in the 8th century A. D. From a study of the distinctive epithets applied to the early Chalukya kings in inscriptions, Mr Aiyar has deduced that the term Vallabha or Vallabharāja denoted the kings of that family only and that accordingly, the Vallabha described as fighting with the Rāshtrakūtas was a Chalukya prince and not one member fighting against another of the Rāshtrakūta family. It is further shown that the Vallabhas ultimately retrieved the fortunes of their family by defeating Kakkala in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. Thus, Mr Subrahmanya Aiyar has supplied the missing links between the earlier and the later members of the Chalukya family.

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by bringing to view their political position under the Rāshtrakūtas during the period of ascendancy of the latter

Another noteworthy point deserving special mention is the successful attempt of the lecturer to disprove the theory of dispute about succession among almost all the Rāshtrakūta kings, which has been accepted as an established fact by scholars so far. Mr. Aiyar has devoted a good amount of space for the discussion of the political situation at the commencement of each reign beginning with Dantidurga, and has shown that there was perfect amity and good will between the several rulers of the family, not only of the main branch of Mālkhēd but between the chiefs of the Gujerāt and Mālkhēd branches as well. Mr. Aiyar's remarks on the subject are worthy of reproduction here — “ One of the acts that mars the fine history of the Rāshtrakūta family, as we have it represented, is that at the commencement of the reigns of almost all the kings of this line, there has been a dispute about succession, a feature that is seldom met with in any other annals of Indian Kingdoms and that is hardly possible to be found in a family of kings who had good schooling in *Dharma* before assuming the royal purple, who were surrounded by fearless and learned councillors with good family tradition and high character and who had for their guidance the *Smṛitis* propounded by wise sages and the *Itihāsas* that put the principles in practical examples ”

I am indebted to Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the solid contributions he has made in these lectures to the study of the history of Karnatak

KANNADA RESEARCH
OFFICE,
30-3-1941

R. S. Panchamukhi,
Director of Kannada Research

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Method of Historic Research

MR PANCHAMUKHI AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD,

Let me first of all thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to deliver a course of lectures on some topics connected with Research. Being one interested like you in the study of the past greatness of this country, it affords me great pleasure to respond to your request. But if you pitch your expectations high, I may tell you that you must be prepared for disappointment. I had often thought that the cause of research could be better advanced by a body of scholars taking to the work than by the efforts of single individuals however qualified the latter may be. Even individual scholars that had been working in the field, I am inclined to believe, must have necessarily sought the aid of others in arriving at a satisfactory solution of many a difficult problem that naturally crop up in the course of the enquiry. Two or more heads are sure to bring out other possibilities of a case than what one alone could do. It is the consideration and just disposal of such possibilities that really contribute to the ascertainment of truth. The task of search after truth is no doubt noble, but the difficulties that stand in the way are many. Your attempt to work in company is a sound one, and I trust that very soon many will follow the example you are setting. I could conceive that there are several impediments in organising a work of this nature. First and foremost is a proper equipment without which no tangible headway can be made and this means money. Next you have to gather together a band of ardent men with aptitude for the task i.e. men with a real love for this kind of labour, which more often yields scant return, with an amount of patience, which is not always

adequately compensated, with a zeal for study in the midst of cares, and with an ardour for search which is not infrequently tantalizing. Men who will not care either for the encomium of the benevolent or the calumny of the slanderer and whose only reward is the joy inherent in the discovery of truth, will indeed be not many. Last, but not the least, is the guidance of an expert who, working along with the apprentice is willing to take him practically through all the varied kind of work involved in research, ranging from the purely mechanical to the highly intellectual. In spite of these difficulties, it appears that the only way of handling the vast mass of South Indian epigraphs, tens of thousands in number, which require the enlistment of the services of a number of men and for which adequate attention is not paid at present, is by the formation of bodies of research scholars and taking up to the work seriously. The publication of volumes of bare texts of inscriptions, can at best be called an attempt to save the impressions secured at some cost from becoming a prey to white ants and rats, and making their contents available to the study of those who know the several languages. Very few would really have been profited by the texts. It is a matter for regret to have bid farewell to the interpretations of the inscriptions. It is highly necessary not only to revive the old publication of South Indian Inscriptions with translations accompanied by full notes and discussions, but also open the pages of it to receive the contributions from competent scholars and to run it on the same lines as the *Epigraphia*, the latter publishes in two years something like 35 to 40 articles. In the absence of a government organ devoted exclusively to the scientific interpretations of South Indian inscriptions, it is only private body or bodies that must do it and the ways and means of accomplishing it must be thought out.

The subject of 'Method of Historic Research' is not one in which novelty of treatment might be expected. It is not my object to point out defects in the system of scientific enquiry that is obtaining in the field of research. I believe that the subject

is one that cannot be too frequently talked about. Like the conning of prayers and the repeating of the sacred injunctions of a teacher to his disciple which act as corrective to the erring humanity, this may serve the useful purpose of reminding one's limitations and latitudes. Sometimes the results obtained in the application of certain dictum or rule might suggest a wholesome change which needs be taken note of. Though the subject is a general one with a wide ground before it, I have thought it fit to confine myself to such aspects of it as are in application by research scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History. The principles that are put forth in this short sketch are those which have been found employed by competent men who have devoted their labours to the cause of research in this line for long years. Some of them may have been anticipated by others more competent to pass opinions in the matter, but it will be conceded readily that we are not barred from passing through the same ground again. Some years ago, in the convocation addresses of our universities graduates leaving colleges were repeatedly told that a wide field was open to them in the research work of the country and they were exhorted to take it up seriously. That these remarks had not fallen on deaf ears is clearly proved by the fact that we have now quite a good number of them devoting their leisure hours to the pursuit of this work. There are many who evince a strong desire to work in the field, but have not the necessary facilities to carry it out. This is specially the case with all those that are in the mofusal. (The efforts of some show that they do it with little or no method, there being no experts to guide them or set rules to observe.)

It has often been said that India has no written history and that the materials for constructing it are scanty. The truth of this statement used to be generally admitted without any reservation. But so far as it relates to South India, it may be said that the remark is not entirely true. The history of the Dekhan is written not in one place, but in hundreds of places, not

in one script but in several , not in the flimsy perishable pages of paper or parchment but on hard and comparatively more permanent materials such as stone, metals and the like, with such details as could not be traced in the history of any other nation. The monuments of past ages of South India are not either few like those of other countries or for the matter of that, of other parts of our own land. The relics of greatness of our kings and people are scattered over places far and wide, and the triumphs achieved by them in the several departments of life have left unmistakable marks throughout the land. For one who has acquired an insight into the nature of these remains, the moment he steps into an ancient shrine he sees in the very hand of the successive generations of people, certain authentic and trustworthy documents. They reveal the power of the Indian kings, the state of civilisation reached by the people, their occupation, the various institutions of government, the safety of person and property, the taxes raised, the benefits which the people obtained from the rulers, the minute system of land measurement, the net work of their irrigation system, the management of their religious endowments and the like. But these interesting accounts remain a sealed book to most people. To help us in the correct understanding of these records, we have the literature of the people, which supplies valuable information on several important topics connected with history, the writings of foreign travellers, both oriental and occidental, the chronicles of the Singhalese people, the numerous coins which the tilling instruments of the farmer unearths from oblivion and finally the traditional accounts current in the country, which throw a flood of light on the past history of the Dekhan. These auxiliary departments open up fresh fields of enquiry. Such being the case, the general complaint regarding the paucity of materials required for building up the history of the past, though true to a certain extent on account of their being not made available to us, is not valid. There is no room to think that the ground is as barren as it is represented to be. The country is rich in

architectural monuments dating back to very early times, with sculptures of great beauty and skilful workmanship, in coins belonging to various dynasties of kings, in an inexhaustible mine of lithic records which tell the tales of olden times and in an interesting collection of literary works of great merit. Traditions and legends abound and await careful examination. Such and so varied are the materials before the student of Historic Research.

Even a few years ago, it was believed that in spite of its high Dravidian culture, isolated as South India was from the North by natural barriers which prevented a free communication with it, and from the absence of native chronicles to record the historical events of past times, its history prior to A D 1000 had almost perished and that no connected account of the national transactions of South India in early times could be written. Events relating to the kingdoms of the Dekhan for several centuries prior to the 11th have now been unfolded thanks to the exertions of a handful of scholars, and more is being done every day. This leaves little room for such despair now.

Apart from the general interest that the research work affords, there is a special attraction in the investigation about the past of South India. As we turn the leaves of any early work on the subject of history, we find that in the past ages prominence is mostly given to the doings of kings. The life and growth of the nation as well as its social progress are entirely kept in the background. This is justifiable to some extent as the kings were everything in ancient times and the people played an insignificant part in the government of the country. It is only in later times that the nation has organised itself and developed to such an enormous magnitude that it is impossible now to write the modern history of any western country without adequately dealing with the growth of the nation and the progress of the society. On the other hand, the student of Indian History finds to his surprise that in Ancient India, the king had almost little to do with the internal administration of the country, which was left entirely

mistakes Suggestions of errors were consigned to the margins
How we wish we have the confidence to declare —

Yādrisam pustakam drishtam tādrisam likhitam mayā '
Yadī suddham aśuddham vā mama dōshō na vidyatē "

To put it briefly, that transcript which does not reproduce the text with all its faults and mistakes, is not of much value

As it is the translation that is more often referred to for information, it is indispensable that it must be accurate, literal and intelligible Where debatable words or passages occur, the rendering must be followed by notes justifying it Doubtful words and passages, whose meanings are un-intelligible, needs to be noted down and reserved for the determination of their import by comparison with similar ones occurring in others Inscriptions teem with such words In the determination of the sense of technical terms with etymology by itself has been found to be an unsafe guide I shall say something about this later on Abstracts of contents are more often—though not always—an excuse for inability to understand the correct conception of the original, in all its intricacies and details and an assured rendering of a clearly un-intelligible word or passage is liable to do more harm than good In corrupt texts it is better to point out the real difficulties than slur them over by confident renderings

Of the several aspects which an inscription presents for study palaeography : a the form of writing is one Since most of the South Indian records are not dated in any particular era, a careful study of the palaeography becomes a necessity Such a study enables us to fix the approximate period when a record should have been incised on stone or copper It may not be out of place here to note that there are differences in the writings of two records of the same date even if they come from the same place when the materials on which they are incised are different The difference in the material accounts for the slight variation in the writing of a copper plate and a stone inscription of the same time

Again differences in characters are observable between two epigraphs incised on the same material, if they come from different places. This is because the engravers are different. But it must be said that the differences in the writing in all these cases are not such as to mislead one, if he is careful. That variations exist is enough to show that we should bestow serious thought on palaeography. Though palaeography forms a guide to a student in handling documents, too free a use is sometimes made of it. It is therefore necessary to sound a note of caution against such a usage. Let me make the point clear. When a number of records of sure dates had not been obtained, studied and published in any script, it would be absurd to adduce palaeography as a ground for assigning even the approximate period of a record. In the case of a few inscriptions, which furnish astronomical details, it becomes easy to ascertain the exact date, the approximate time being known from palaeographical grounds. A handful of inscriptions with Śaka dates or dated in other known eras are also found and these help us to fix the time of other allied documents.

Palaeography being only a general indicator of time, its province of usefulness is limited. It cannot be too much pressed into service. It seems unsafe to depend solely upon it to determine whether a record is posterior to or anterior to another drawn up almost in similar type. It must first be realised that we have not got access to any original document at all but are only dealing with their copies. Some of what we call 'original or genuine inscriptions' may after all be second or third hand copies. The first copy might have been in the secretariat and the second in the temple treasury or in the safes of the village or district assemblies and these might have been written in the hand of the more literate officials than the inscriptions, which are copies of them and which, as testified to by the remarks occurring at the end of the epigraphs, is the work of scribes (stone masons *Tachchāchārīyan*) who have learned to incise letters on stone or other materials. The office of scribe was

held hereditarily in ancient days True that the art of incising, as indeed of other arts, had been carried to excellence But it does not follow that the scribes as a class were above erring They were human beings and shared human defects Generally speaking most of them did their work with sincerity for which they have our admiration The whole secret about the engraving of inscriptions is still not revealed In the case of lithic documents, this much may be safely said that the inscription was first written down on stone with a sort of red paint and then they were incised Whether the engraver himself painted the letters on stone from copies on palm leaves or other materials, or some others did it for them is still an unsolved problem Our own shortcomings prompt us to be generous enough to allow the same to the poor scribes (In parenthesis I may add that the very scholars, who had devoted more time than others in tracing and recording the changes which letters had undergone in subsequent periods, have committed shocking blunders in reading inscriptions this only affords us a warning to be more careful the mistakes of others serve to correct us) We have had hundreds and even thousands of inscriptions I have not met with a single reference anywhere to the forging of documents It may be admitted that forging might have been attempted to secure title to property But such could have been easily detected and the criminal brought to book by the system then in vogue, i e by a reference to the copies preserved and the notes made in the various books of the account departments and in the safes of the assembly or the temple The absence of references in inscriptions to forgeries seems to indicate that they were rarely attempted We have numerous references to the taking down of copies of old inscriptions and re-engraving them but none of forging Some of the re-engraved inscriptions clearly indicate that those who took down copies of earlier records were not good epigraphists and could not well make out the original they made several kinds of blunders On this account, the records are not entitled to be termed 'forgeries' we have no good reasons to spurn them We

be very careful because it was customary in those days for sovereigns to assume certain titles by which they were known in common with a few others. To give an example, the Chōla kings bore the titles Rājakēśari and Parākēśari alternately. Similarly the Pāndyas had the titles Mārañjadaiyan and Sadaṃamāran, the Rāshtrakūtas Akālavārsha etc. Very often even a name was borne by more than one sovereign of a single dynasty just as there are Edwards, Georges and Henrys, there were Rājarājas, Rājēndrachōlas, Kṛishnas, Gōvīndas and Narasimnas. It becomes sometimes difficult to determine to which particular king of that name the record must be relegated. In the accounts of the sovereigns, we meet with the names of contemporary kings which were also borne by more persons than one. The indentifications have to be effected with care.

Inscriptions furnish valuable information regarding the ancient geography of the country. Numerous villages are mentioned as being situated in districts and the divisions to which the latter belonged are also given. By collecting together the villages and identifying them, we can determine the extent of districts and divisions that were comprised in a particular province (*maṇḍala*). As a rule, each provincial chief had a capital city or cities, one or more *nāḍis* and a hill. Generally the ancient names of villages and provinces did not undergo any change even though they were conquered by neighbouring kings and invested with duplicate names. Wars were numerous and they were undertaken to establish the supremacy of kings, but not necessarily for annexation. Once an enmity is created, it continued for years with varying successes. The injunctions of Dharmasāstras, — viz., that war must be had recourse to as the last resort when the three expedients failed, and that when the conquest is effected, the territory must be left in charge of a member of the vanquished monarch, — give room for holding that the ancient kingdoms remained unaffected by the results of war. Limits of kingdoms must have changed. Annexation of territories seldom occurred and even when they occurred, it

did not affect the geography of the place. Sometimes the conquerors,—mostly the Pallavas and Chōlas,—gave fresh names to villages and provinces which they overcame, but these did not replace the older names but were added to them to indicate by the mere mention of the names with the surnames, to whom or which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it in later times. The conquerors themselves took care to preserve the ancient territorial names. There is good scope for making out the ancient geography and it is a field in which much has not been yet done. Hills, rivers or streams, sea-coasts and such other natural objects mostly mark the limits of the districts and divisions. Inscriptions afford unerring clues in some instances, to where we could locate some of the rare mountains, rivers and *tirthas*. For instance if we take into consideration the fact that a territorial magnate of the time of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I was styled *sūtlara Bennānātha* and *Triṭūtaparvatapati*, we could say that Triṭūtaparvata must be in the region of the Kṛishnā river. Though Bennā or Vēnī was the name of one of the tributaries of the Gōḍāvarī, it is excluded by the fact of the application of the epithet *sūtlara*. A study of the later appellations given to places sometimes enables us to say when a conquest of a territory should have been effected. It will also help us in fixing the surnames of kings. In the heart of the Chōla dominions we find villages bearing the surnames Simhavishnu-Chaturvēdimangalam, Mahēndramangalam and Narasiṃhachaturvēdimangalam, and a temple called Pallavanichchuram so early as to be celebrated in the hymns of a Śaiva saint of the 7th century A D. The earliest name Simhavishnuchaturvēdimangalam indicates that Simhavishnu must have conquered the Chōla country. The Vēlūrpālayam plates actually tell us that he did so.

About the language of inscriptions and its attractions for the research student much could be said. The correct understanding and interpretation of the various subjects treated in inscriptions demand from the student a wide range of study. At least, he is

forced to learn many things from many sources as occasions arise. The lover of literature can find here many a forgotten worthy who could take honourable places among the galaxy of writers. A lover of writing can easily pick numerous fine passages, telling expressions and good models of easy flowing, direct and forceful narrations. A conveyancer without effort, can make a reference book of various kinds of instruments. A lexicographer can collect hundreds of new words. The philologists and etymologists have a wide field to display their skill of interpreting and to make note of curiosities of changes of words. And those who are interested in the study of the nature and function of the ancient institutions which are but meagerly noticed in the Hindu Dharmaśāstras will have full scope here. The administrator, if he is curious, can find here how State problems relating to Health and Sanitation, Co-operation and Rural Banking, Education, Town-Planning, Maintenance of Law and Order, Irrigation and the like, had been solved by the ancients in this land of various nationalities and various creeds. When I recount to you that the subjects treated in inscriptions are so many and so varied, you will certainly know how the research student should equip himself to do full justice to the task before him. He will not think that he has done his work satisfactorily by carefully deciphering the hieroglyphic of inscriptions, translating as best as he could or giving an abstract of contents, and by handling a few facts revealed in them concerning the transactions of kings.

A research scholar has before him a good number of valuable documents of various nature which require his careful handling. He cannot afford to treat lightly even a single record however small or trifling its contents may be. It is expected that he would bestow the same consideration to this as he would to the one furnishing much interesting matter.

It is within our knowledge that differences of opinion are entertained even by experts as regards the matter contained in

documents While one calls it a conveyance, another gives considerations for taking the same for an agreement and the third holds that it is a bond or mortgage The same is the case with some inscriptions As the bulk of the material, both literary and epigraphical, which relate to South India, is in one or other of the Dravidian languages, any one who wants to handle these inscriptions, if he should at all make a judicious and correct use of these, a knowledge of the Dravidian languages should possess Not only should he be conversant with the literary form of them but must know well the colloquial forms used in the daily life of the people and that employed in documentary scrolls

Before the historian makes use of the contents of a document it is incumbent that he should see whether they are authentic in themselves Here I may note that there is less chance of tampering with lithic records than those on copper plates, because the latter are in the custody of persons who could at their leisure effect any secret mischief to suit their purpose There is little room to do the same with stone records kept in public places like the temple or other monuments Generally speaking, therefore, better reliance could be placed on this class of documents

Inscriptions when they are dated in any particular era e g Śaka, Vikrama, Kollam etc coupled with cyclic years, it must be seen whether the latter correspond to the former When these are found to be widely at variance, there is an indication that some time must have elapsed between the actual date of the grant and the time of incising and more care must be bestowed regarding their dates The form of the language and the terms used in the documents, if properly studied, would also furnish clues to test if they are distant copies A close study of the characters of the records will also be of immense help in this direction For example, if an inscription which pretends to belong to an early period is written in the script of a later date, unquestionably it is a copy A careful examination of the signatories, who would in most cases be officers of kings, would also enable one to find out if a document

is genuine or not. Even when the documents are found to disclose discrepancies in some respects, they cannot, on that score alone, be rejected or despised as worthless. An endeavour should be made to ascertain if other parts of them are sound. Inscriptions in which the date portion is clearly wrong are not rare. Many of them, which furnish astronomical details, have on verification been found to be incorrect and yet we have no reason to doubt their authenticity, the errors in these cases being due to the carelessness of the scribes. In spurious records generally, the unreliable portions are those relating to grants. The geographical description given in them, if they are not far distant from the dates of issue, need not be looked upon as incredible or valueless. The historical facts noticed in such documents have to be subjected to scrutiny.

One other point to which attention may be drawn is the verification of the astronomical details of dates furnished in inscriptions. These details consist in the insertion of what are called the *pañcāṅga* or the five elements viz. the constellation, the week day, the *tithi*, the fortnight and the month. Given these, it is possible to work out the particular day when they occurred combined. Very often we may find that on more than one day such combinations occurred. In such cases the calculator has very onerous duties. He should not be led away by the thought that because the details work out accurately to a particular day, that day must be the one intended. He must always take the guidance of the palaeographical indications of the record and its internal evidence to ascertain the correctness of his finding. To give currency to the results of calculations which are widely at variance with the internal evidence of documents is to give a wrong lead to occurrence of events. It must be said that a small mistake on the part of the writer of a document might result in its anti-dating or post-dating. Usually and necessarily some time elapses between the actual date of the grant and its engraving. This gives room to inaccurate citation of details. It is therefore highly necessary to give due weight to the intrinsic evidences of documents other than the details of dates.

I may here give an instance where the historian has been misled from the true course of events, by not having paid due attention to the evidence of writing. One such is found in the attempts at fixing the commencement of the Gāṅgēya Era. The initial year of this Era has been sought in the 3rd and 4th centuries A D. Just imagine how wide of the mark the transactions of the kings of the dynasty would be, if they are based on such chronology, while actually the Era could not have started earlier than the end of the 5th century as indicated by the palaeography of many of the Eastern Ganga grants.

A close observation and study of the regnal years show that the kings of the various dynasties of South India counted the time of their rule from the date of their anointment as *yuvārāja* i.e. from the date of their nomination and not from the day of their actual coronation. Generally the *yauvarājya abhishēka* took place when the reigning king was getting old and the one that was to succeed him was sufficiently aged.

If a reigning king was young and hale and died suddenly, or if he was old and the one to be nominated was too young to be invested with the authority of a *yuvārāja*, the nomination did not take place. The regnal years of such kings as had succeeded to the throne without having had the *yauvarājya abhishēka* would be counted from the date of their actual coronation or from the date of demise of their predecessor. Though the regnal years given in inscriptions are, as a general rule, calculated from the date of nomination, we do meet with instances where some of the regnal years are counted from the coronation date and some others from the nomination date. On this score also, it becomes necessary to examine wherever possible, whether the year is counted from the date of demise of the predecessor or from a prior date. Otherwise wide differences in the dating of events might result and I mention this so that a possible source of error might be avoided. In the last few years of the Eastern Ganga Anantavarman Chōdaganga and the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, both of whom

had lived to a pretty long age, there are evidences that their sons were allowed to issue records in their own names even during the lifetime of their father

There are numerous instances in inscriptions which tend to show that feudal subordinates dated their records in the reign of their overlords. From the mere omission of this observance alone it would be gratuitous to infer that a particular feudatory threw off his subordination and aimed at independence or rebelled against his chief, which he might never even have imagined. It will be advisable in all cases where a suspicion of this nature arises, to seek for other proofs in the direction, since it is not known what exactly were the terms that were binding. If, in a tract of country where grants are dated in the reign of a ruling dynasty of kings, suddenly stray inscriptions turn up which are dated in Śaka or other known eras and no mention is made of any king, and there is no suspicion about their genuineness, an enquiry needs be made for the breach of the custom. It may sometimes lead to the conclusion that the country was at the time in the state of transition from one government to another.

If in the course of handling documents, we meet with damaged or unintelligible records, it is unfair to attempt at pronouncing findings with the aid of intelligible phrases or words picked up here and there from them. And if the information furnished by us is to be of any real use for purposes of history, the utmost that can be safely hazarded is the honest narration of ascertained facts with such judicious pronouncement on them as may be necessary in the form in which the facts are arranged for presentation. All endeavour should be made to resist the temptation to draw inferences or to arrive at general conclusions from isolated or mutilated facts because conclusions formed without sufficient evidence seldom prove correct while the currency which they gain is detrimental to the cause of history. It is highly necessary therefore that we should endeavour to collect all the evidences both for and against, available on the subject, weigh them well and come to a

One of the most onerous duties of the historian is to examine the nature and value of the facts contained in the document placed at his disposal. It needs not be said that for effectively carrying out this part of the task he must approach them with an unbiased mind. True estimate is possible only to the impartial, and scrupulous care is needed to detect mistakes of omission and commission. The historian has to group and classify the facts as before for and against, discuss their merits, test them with the help obtained from other sources and finally record his finding without exaggeration or embellishment. Passion and prejudice often obscure the vision and need it be said that partiality would lightly pass over the real blemishes in the objects liked and prejudices would try to taint even the beautiful. It will not be long to say that history suffers more from those two vices than from want of scholarship or material. Continuous application and sincerity are the secrets of getting at the truth.

It will be admitted that there are always two sides to a question. In trying to successfully establish a point it will not do to take merely the arguments pertaining to it. It is highly necessary that all the arguments that could be possibly advanced against it, must be given due consideration. While upholding the correctness of the view adopted the possible grounds to the

contrary require to be discussed and their futility shown. When we form an opinion with a few facts that are before us, it must be clearly kept in view that explanations of the same facts are possible and until those are proved to be untenable our opinion cannot be said to rest on firm basis. That opinion which is hastily formed, expressed without due consideration or what might be said against it, has not much to warrant credence.

Though in all inquiries, intellectual competence, admitted truthfulness, immunity from prejudice, and freedom from temptation to shift facts, can secure credibility, yet all these cannot be guarantee for minute and circumstantial exactness. No two *prasaśi* writers with equal gifts of expression and equal access to material, register events in exactly the same way. While they agree in the main, they invariably differ in details. It would appear that men are not capable of relating facts precisely as they see or hear. Different parts of a story appeal differently to different imaginations and the circumstances as they pass through the mind make the latter unconsciously alter the proportion and shift the perspective. Therefore when taking up for discussion the matter contained in an inscription, it is advisable that prominence is first given to the textual statements and whatever we may have to say is made to bear on them so that the full implications might be brought out. The inter-relations of the various parts have to be shown whenever they are not plain.

It is not always that the historian finds the grounds of the opposition clearly set forth. In most cases they have to be imagined or thought out and this is not an easy matter, when the mind is working in a particular groove. The building up of the case for the opposition is a difficult one and unless this is done and each strong point in it is carefully considered, assailed and disposed of, the decision arrived at does not carry much weight. From the writing of the *Bhāṣyakāras*, we see that they can lay claim to a very high place for handling questions involving several issues. Marvelous is indeed the course of investigation which

correctly stated, before any attempt is made to assail it. The exact view of the opponent is seldom expressed in another's words. It behoves us therefore, whenever we are not in agreement with another's view, to state the adversary's stand in his own words. The cause of research may be said to suffer seriously by misrepresentation and suppression of facts. Such misrepresentation may gain a hearing and even approval of persons that are ignorant of facts, but time which tries the truth of everything, is sure to prove the baseness of the perpetration.

At a time when much was not known about the various dynasties of kings that held sway in India and their transactions, it was but just that our chief attention must be concentrated on kings and chronology. Now that the doings of kings of very many of the families have been roughly known, though fresh ones are being brought to light by new discoveries, and parts of chronologies still remain to be settled, and political history requires elucidation we may profitably pay attention to the problems about the pursuits of the people and the constitutional bodies that were functioning in past ages.

In late years there has been a growing interest evinced in the study of the part played by the rural administrative bodies of India in ancient times, which the subject justly demands and which has given us a few works, embodying the results of the attempts made by a band of scholars. In pursuing the study the authors had naturally to ransack the literature of the country and to examine the vast number of epigraphs unearthed. Sometimes a note of caution, which is as impracticable as unnecessary, is sounded against mixing up the evidences of the different sources or of applying the evidence relating to any particular time or part of a country to other times and to other parts of the same country. We can well appreciate such a warning if it is given to students engaged on the study of the institutions of such countries as have been in the making during historic times and as had not attained a high state of perfection at a very remote past,

viz (1) that the *Ūr* or *Crāma* was the earliest and a remnant of an ancient Dravidian institution having no set of rules (2) that *Sabhā* had a later origin,—some would even date it in the 9th, 10th centuries A D,—and its members were of mixed classes and the like

I shall try to show how such views, besides being untenable, are injurious to the very cause of research. The attempt will also prove how invaluable inscriptions are for the understanding of the *Smṛiti* texts, which they closely follow. The first thing to note is the claim of numerous Indian kings, South Indians not excepted, to have followed the laws of *Dharma* as inculcated by *Manu*, and the next point to note is that the word *Dharma* has a very wide significance not necessarily limited to Justice or Law, but embraces every kind of transaction that contributes to benefit. Writers on *Dharmas'āstras* recognise two kinds of *dharma*s by which are meant laws, regulations and transactions. These are *Rājakṛta-dharma* or the regulations etc., made by kings, and *Sāmayika* and *Samaya-dharma* 'the regulations etc.', made by regularly constituted bodies. Of such constituted bodies mention is made of *Kula*, *Grāma*, *Jāti*, *Śrēṇi*, *Janapada* and *Pūga*. These were of various degrees of importance and magnitude. The transactions made by them must be in conformity with the *Vedas*. *Kula* is defined as '*Jñāti-sambandhi bandhūnām samūhah*' i.e. the assembly of persons related to each other by the father's or mother's side and by marriages—agnates, kinsmen and cognates. *Grāma* is the constituted assembly of the village. *Jāti* is defined by Kulluka Bhatta as *Brāhmaṇa-samūhah*, the assembly of Brahmins. The persons, that followed trade as their profession, had two kinds of assemblies which were termed *Śrēṇi* and *Pūga*. Of these, *Śrēṇi* is also called *Sangha* and it is defined as *Vaṃgādī-samūhah* i.e. a guild of merchants. A more explanatory definition of it is given in the *Mitākshara*. *Śrēṇayōnānājātīnām cha-jātīyā-karmōpajīvinām sanghātāḥ yathā hētibukādīnām tāmbūlikā l'vinda-charma-kārādīnām cha*", meaning *Śrēṇis* are bodies of men of different castes having for their living i.e. following the

calling of one caste like that of horse-dealers, betel-leaf vendors, weavers and shoe-makers. In another place the same commentator has '*Āṭapīṇya-s'īlpaśāṣṇāḥ Śrēṇayah*' *Pūga* is also termed *Gṇa* (*Gaṇasāḥ pūga paryāyah*). *Pugas* are defined in the *Mātṛkshara* as '*Pūgāḥ samūhāḥ bhinna-jātinām bhinna-vṛttinām ēka-sīlīna-muśīnīm yathā grāma-nagarādayaḥ*' meaning that *pūgas* are assemblies of men of different castes following different avocations but living in a single locality for example a village or city. From this definition it might be said that each of the different classes of merchants and traders had an organisation of its own and all of them were subject to a central constitution. *Janapada* is the assembly of a *Rāshtra* or *Vishaya*, District or division. From the definitions given above it will be clear that *grāma*, *jāti*, *janapada* or *dēś'a*, *sangha* or *s'rēṇi* etc., were really names of regularly constituted bodies functioning in ancient times and it is also evident by such references as *jāti-jānapadān dharmān*, *grāma-jāti-sanghānām*, *grāma-jāti-samūhēṣu*, *dēśa-jāti-kula-dharmān* occurring in *Manu*, *Gautama* and others. Tamil inscriptions use the term *ūr* for *grāma*, *sabhā* for *jāti*, *nādu* for *janapada*, *rāshtra* or *dēśa* and *nagara*, *nagarattār*, *vaniga-nagarattār* or *sankarappūdiyār* etc. for *Śrēṇi* or *Pūga*. The definitions cited above make it clear that the three constitutional bodies *kula*, *grāma* and *jāti*, of which the last two stand for *ūr* and *sabhā* were of a homogeneous nature, while the others *Śrēṇi*, *Pūga* and *janapada* which are the same as *nagara* and *nādu* or *Rāshtra* were of a mixed character. Inscriptions of Southern India afford ample evidence to the fact that allotments of different or distinct quarters were made for the various classes and castes of men, artisans, persons following different professions and industries and that these had corporate bodies of their own which sometimes took up the management of, or assigned fees leviable on articles of trade as funds for charitable or religious purposes. The constitutional character of the bodies is testified to first by the fact that they undertook the management of permanent endowments and gave agreements to the effect that they would carry out the wish

of the donors for an indefinite period of time—*chandrādityavat*—which no private individual or chance collection of men acting without any set rules could furnish to the satisfaction of the donees, secondly by the body having members of their own, thirdly by the mention made of the existence of committees and accountants under them proving that books, open for inspection when needed, were regularly maintained by them

Hundreds of inscriptions testify to the fact that these bodies—*Ūr*, *Sabhā*, *Nagarattār*,—were functioning quite independently without the intervention of the State the only thing required was, as we gather from the *Smṛitis* that their actions must be in consonance with the injunctions of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* : i.e. the ancient law codes of the country It is in keeping with this that the *Dharma-śāstrās* tell us that the king and his men should not interfere with or institute a case with reference to these bodies on their own initiative and that when cases were brought they must enforce the laws etc. of the bodies provided they are regular, in as good a way as they would enforce the royal orders

Yājñā Nija-dharm-āvīrōdhēna yas-tu sāmāyikō bhavēt |
 Sōsṇi yatnēna samrakshyat dharmō Māgakṛitaśo cha yat ||
Manu Jāti-jānapadān dharmān Śrēni-dharmāms cha
 dharmavit |
 Samikshya-Kula-dharmāms cha svadharmam
 pratipādayēt ||
 Sadbhirācharitam yat syāt dhārmikais cha dvijātibhih |
 Taddēśa-kula-jātīnām aviruddham prakalpayēt ||
Gautam : Dēśa-Jāti-Kula-Dharmās cha āmnāyair
 aviruddhāh pramānam

Every kind of transaction made by the bodies—*Ūr*, *Sabhā*, *Nagara* whether it be a gift, exemption from payment of tax on receipt from the donee of a compounding fee, law, regulation etc., is called in inscriptions by the terms *kārya*, *samayakārya*, *sankēta*, *samaya-sankēta* and *vyavasthā* These terms are applied to the

transactions performed by the bodies collectively and not by any single individual. The point for particular note here is that the terms *sankēta* and *samayakārya* and their synonyms have no reference whatsoever to the rules relating to the constituting of the bodies : *e* the form of understanding that must have existed among the members or to any agreed creed among them. We draw special attention to this as, in the absence of the specific application in inscriptions, they are likely to be so understood.¹

You can find numerous kinds of mistakes committed in the translations of texts of Dharmaśāstras, employing these technical terms. The members of the constitutional bodies are sometimes called Sankētins or Samayasankētins. But generally they are called perumakkal in Tamil, pramukhas or mahājanas in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu inscriptions, with the name of the body prefixed to their honorifics such as ūr-perumakkal, sabhai-pperumakkal, Rāshtrakūta pramukhas or Nāttu-pperumakkal. Dharmaśāstras term them *mukhyas* (*e g* *Mukhyais-saha samūhānām visamvādō yadā bhavēt, tadā vichārayēt rājā svadharma sthāpayechcha tām*).

The law relating to the infringement of the regulations or transactions of the bodies is called Samvid-vyatikrama and it is shortly told in three verses by Manu,² from which it could be

¹ Bṛihaspati Grāma-Śrēṇi-Gananāñcha Sankētāḥ Samayakriyā ।

² Bādhā-kāle tu sā kāryā Dharmakāryē tathaiṣa cha ॥

Chāta-chaura-bhayē bādbāḥ sarva-sādhāraṇā smṛitāḥ ।

Tatrōpaśamanam kāryam sarvēṇaikēna kēna chit ॥

Yōgrāma-dēśa-sanghānām kṛtvā satyēna samvidam

Visamvadēt narō lobhāt tām rāshtrāt viprāvasayēt 219

Nigrihya dapayech-chānam Samaya-vyabhichārinām

Chatus-suvarṇān shan-bishkams-chatamanan-cha rājatām 220

Ētad-danda-vidhim kuryād-dhārmikāḥ prithivīpatih

Grāma-jāti-samūhēṣhu samayavyabhichārinām 221

gathered that the king's court is the appellate authority in such cases. Manu makes a distinction between a royal court presided over by the king himself and the one presided over by his nominee when he could not himself be present. The latter is called the *Dharmāsana*. This implied but apparent distinction is made more explicit by Nārada who states that there is an appeal to the king against the decision of the other ('*ṛṣipādhyakṛitāḥ nirnītē api vyavahārē ṛṣipāgamanam bhavati* '). Inscriptions also maintain this distinction and mention the former as *anrālko* 'the then reigning king' and the latter by the very term *dharmāsana*. Though the king is empowered, in cases of *samvid-vyati-krama*, to inflict punishment on the guilty, he has to enforce only the laws of the bodies if they are found to be in accordance with the established laws of the country.

In handling inscriptions, one has frequently to press into service the science of etymology and philology. This is often beset with difficulties and if he is not careful, he will be led astray. The ancients well recognised the delicate nature of the science and the harm it was capable of doing to the cause of truth. The author of the *Nirukta* fitly employed the following passage to impress on the minds of the votaries of the science how dangerous it will prove in the hands of the unscrupulous —

Vidyā ha vai Brāhmanam ājagāma gōpāya mā śēvadhīṣṭē
aham asmi ।

Asūyakāy anṛjavē ayatāya na mā brūyā vīryavati tathā syām ।

Ya ātrnatty-avītatathēna karna avaduham kurvann-amṛitam
samprayachchhan ।

Tam manyēta pītaram mātaram cha tasmai na druhyēt
katamachchanāha ।

Adhyāpitā yē gurum nādrīyantē viprā vāchā manasā
karmanā vā ।

Yathaiva tēna gurōrbhōjanīyās tathaiva tānnabhunakti
śrutam tat ।

Yamēva vidyāḥ śuchim apramattam mēdhāvinam

brahmacharyōpapannam ।

Yastūna druhyūt katamachchanāha tasma mā brūva nidhīpāya

Brahmann itī nidhiḥ śēvadhīriti ।

(Nr 11 4)

“ The treasure of Vidyā approached a Brāhmaṇa and said —

“ Please protect me and bestow me not on the envious or the untruthful or on one that is wanting in industry Pray consider as father and mother him who, without being vain, opens his ears to others, causes no injury and is capable of conferring immortality, to such a one prove not treacherous to any extent (Those Vipras who after being taught, do not honour the preceptor by word, mind and action, should not be entertained, should just do unto them what they had done to their preceptors)” “ Lastly,” said the treasure of Vidyā, “ bestow me on such a protector of wealth as is pure in conduct, as swerves not from the right path, as is intelligent and leads a life of celibacy”

The remarks of Yāska on the use of the science are well worth remembering Yāska takes his stand on the fundamental principle that there could exist no word without having a meaning And words are but feeble attempts at conveying one's impressions To translate an impression, which is a vivid picture formed in the mind with fullness of detail, no single word or sound-combination could effectively do it Words try to convey their significance by creating a reflection of the impressions and the power of reflection, it is needless to say, is different in different minds It varies with one's learning, observation, capacity to focus together the train of thoughts which supplement and complement the nucleus of the first impression produced by the word To most people a word conveys no more than a few parts of the objects with which they are familiar and certainly that is not all that the word intends to transmit It cannot be said that all know in an equal degree every part of even the most familiar object The story of the blind man and the elephant may perhaps better illustrate what I aim at saying Conscious of the fact that

words are by their syllabic arrangements, capable of conveying impressions of objects, Yāska lays down the rules which must guide an etymologist in determining or explaining the impression meant to be conveyed. His first principle is that attempts at offering etymological explanations of words must only be made by taking compounds, phrases or sentences where they occur and not of single or isolated words (*samāsān-nirbrūyāt naikapadām*). Underlying this principle, one can see that he fully recognises the fact that a word, as it occurs in a phrase or compound, fulfills a double object viz of its having an impression of its own and of bearing a relation to the impressions conveyed by other words with which it is associated. For ascertaining conclusively the import of a word it may not do to have only a single phrase or sentence in which it is found very often the syllables of a word are capable of conveying more than one meaning. As such one of the qualifications of a true etymologist is a wide range of study which would enable him to bring together a number of passages where a given word figures. This is exactly what Yāska does in his Nirukta with regard to some words. Secondly Yāska expects an etymologist to have a knowledge of grammar for he says that this science should not be imparted to one that is not conversant with grammar (*na avayākaranāya*). Unlike English and such other languages, which use separate words for indicating various cases of nouns, tenses of verbs etc., the primary stems of words in the Ārsha, as indeed with all inflectional languages such as Latin, Greek, Tamil etc., undergo vital changes by the addition of terminations, prefixes and particles, besides other internal alterations, so as to make the words assume in some cases entirely new garbs, easily to be mistaken for words of different origin. Even though one is well grounded in grammar, a student of etymology requires, according to Yāska, the personal direction of a master and has therefore to undergo training in the mysteries in this field of research and inquiry, by being a disciple. Mere formulation of rules for guidance was not

considered enough owing to the many pitfalls that are likely to occur This is what one might gather when he says *na anuṣṭāsanīya* Ignorance breeds envy and calumny and this science is not for the ignorant On the other hand, it has to be taught to the intelligent, industrious, and such as value knowledge (Nr 113)

Nityam hi avijñātuh vijñane asūyā

Upasannāya tu nirbrūyāt yo vālam vijñātum syāt medhāvīne
tapasvīne vā

The drawing of correct inferences and conclusions is not easy Just to give you an example, I may take the view about the state of Vedic exegesis in past ages Not a few are inclined to think that it was totally disregarded from the earliest times That the holders of this view are to no small extent influenced by the surrounding circumstances goes without saying The conclusions, arrived at in this respect are from certain passages in the Nirukta and the scant treatment of Vedic grammar in Pāṇini The former is not decisive either way and as for the latter, it may be said that it cannot but be as it is Epigraphical evidence clearly shows that all through the period covered by the inscriptions, the study of the Vedas with meaning was pursued zealously

Belonging to the century preceding the advent of Sāyaṇa there are numerous copper plates and lithic records which register *brahmadēya* grants of lands and villages made not only to individuals but also to collections of men The collection in one case amounted to as many as thousand and eighty persons These men are expressly stated to have been well versed in the Vedas and Śāstras, studied them with meaning and were capable of expounding them The words used are *Vēdamum—Sāstramum poruṭṭadappoy vyākyātakkatay irukhum* Number of other inscriptions belonging to earlier period also testify to the fact that there were men who had studied the Vedas with meaning and were skilled in the allied lore Among the qualifications laid down in

the Uttaramallur inscriptions for membership in the committees of the village assemblies which had for their object *śiṣṭar kettu śiṣṭar varddhitūduvadāga*, whose full significance had not still been brought out, there occur the following (1) *Mantra-brāhmaṇam vallan oduvittarivan* and (2) *araikkal nilamey udaiyanayilum oru Vēdam vallanay nalu bashyattilum oru bashyam vakkamittu arivanai*.

The first clause means "one who had marked the *Mantra*—*Brāhmaṇa* had taught it and knew it" (i.e. its meaning). It cannot be said that 'know it' stands for 'committed to memory' for the latter sense is already arranged by the word 'vallanay'.

The words used here leave no doubt that the members eligible to be committee members ought to have known the meanings of *Vēdas*, *Mantras* and ought to have been teaching them. We need not go into a discussion about this. The second clause relaxes the property limit in the case of persons who knew one of the four *bashyas* and had been expounding the same. From these clauses and from the fact that the members chosen for a particular year should not have served on the committees within the three years just preceding the year of election, aimed at living scope for all and of raising the standard of Vedic scholarship of the people of the village in general. One of the objects of the edict viz 'that the *śiṣṭas* may increase in number' is certainly better secured by the more explicit clauses in the second edict which replace the general clause regarding educational qualification of the first inscription, and by the clauses relating to the conduct *etc* of the said persons *arthis'auca*, *ātmās'auca* and *kārya-naiṣṭhika*. Though there had been no occasion for putting up such edicts concerning other villages, where such committees had been functioning, we could well imagine that the same or similar rules obtained there also. Having the specific qualifications before us, it can be asserted that by *śiṣṭas* are meant such persons as possessed the qualifications laid down in the *Dharmasāstras* viz

Dharmenādhigato yaistu Vēdah saparibrahmanah |

Tē śiṣṭā brāhmaṇa ājñeyāḥ śruti pratyakṣa hētavah ||

Kulluḥ 1-Bṛ. uttā gives the following gloss on it

Brahmacharyādi ukta dharmcna yathā anga—Mīmāṃsā—

Dharma-śāstra—Purānādi Upabṛimbitō

Yāto adhi gataḥ Tc brāhmanāḥ Śrutēḥ Pratyakṣhikaranā

hūtavah,

Yc Śruti n pathitvā tad artham upadiśanti te śiṣṭā vijñēyāḥ

(Manu XII v 109)

In earlier times Vedic exegesis must have fared even better

It commenced in a remote past when the Rishis of old, who had direct perception of the dharma, expounded the *mantras* to their disciples who had not such a perception. This is plain from the following passage of the *Nirukta*

ŚTṛ-hīṭ-ḥṛita-dharmānīḥ Rshayō babhūvuh | te (=5)
varc̥bhyō (=5) sākshīḥ ḥṛita dharmabhyah upad̥ścna mantrān
sāmp̥ādūh | upad̥śīya glāyanto [5] varc̥ bilma grahanāy̥cnam
grāhnam samānīnāsishuh | Vēdam cha Vēdāngāṃ cha |

Nirukta, Canto I, ll 27-29

In these ages, persons that studied the Vēdas without knowing their meaning were held in great contempt. Indeed strong language was employed to denounce such as took to the method of cramming the hymns without knowing their sense

Sthānurayam bhāra-hārah kilābhūdadhītya Vēdam na
vijñāti yōrtham, yōrthajña it sakalam bhadramaśnutē
nākam̥cti jñāna-vidhūta-pāpmā, yad-grīhitamavijñātam
nigad̥cna cva śabdyat̥c anagnāv-iva sushkaidhō na taj-jvalati
karhic̥hit,

Utatvah paśyan nā dadarsa vāchamutatvah śpinvan na
spīnōty cñām utōtvasmai tanvam visasrē jāy-ēva patya uśati
suvāsāḥ, | utatvam sakhyē sthira-pītamāhurnainam hinvantyapi
vājīn̥cshu, | adh̥c̥nvā charati māyayaisha vācham śuśruvāma
a-phalāma pushpām || Nr I 11-20

The emphasis laid in the above quotation on knowing the meaning of the Vēdas and the contempt hurled against persons

studying only the Vedic texts without caring for the sense implied therein, coupled with the fact that the Rishis themselves initiated their disciples in the import of the mantras, affords room to think that the majority of students should have known the full significance of hymns they learnt to recite. That the Rishis had their *āśramas* and *samhatis* which nestled in their fold large number of disciples is vouchsafed in numerous references. It may be said that the Samhatis formed our universities of outstanding merit and must have been resorted to by the students of the surrounding parts to devote the first part of their life, and this must account for their numerical strength. Besides, the parting injunction of the *āchārya* to the disciple at the time of the latter's completion of study, contained in the telling passage "Vēdamanūchyāchāryāntēvāsīnāmanuśāstī" ending with "ēvamupāsītavyam" insisting among other things the continuance of the study and exposition of the Vedas all through one's life goes to show that Vedic exegesis could not have been neglected in ancient days. The second stage in the matter of Vedic exegesis is portrayed in the following passage occurring in the Nirukta —

"Ayam mantr-ārtha-chintā abhyūhō abhyūdho Śrutitō'pī tarkatō, na tu prathaktvēna mantrā nirvaktavyāh prakārēna stēn ēva tu nirvaktavyā na hi ēsha pratyaksham astī an-Rishēr-a-tapasō vā, pārōvaryavitsū tu khalu vēditrishu bhūyō vidyāh praśasyō bhavati ity-uktam purastāt Manushyā vā Rishishu utkrāmatsu dēvān abruvan "Kō na Rishir-bhaviṣhyati-itī tebhya ēvam tarkam Rishim prayachchhan, mantr-ārtha chintā abhyūham adhyūdham tasmādyad-ēva kimch anūchānō abhyūhatyārsham tad bhavati

In this age the sense of hymns was ascertained by way of right conjecture or inference following a course of reasoning consistent with Śrutis by persons who had undergone a period of monastic life and who were well posted in traditions. The words used here for the Vedic expounder and the method of the exegesis

are worth nothing By *anūchana*, we learn that the exegetes was an *antēvāsini* that had gone through a regular course of discipline and read for a number of years the *Vēdas* with their *angas* under the guidance of an *āchārya*, and having completed the studies had been permitted to enter the *gṛihasthāśhrāma* (*Sāṅgē* “*Śikshādy-angōpētē Vēdē adhitē* kṛit-ādhyayanō anūchānāsākshād-yō gṛihasthādy-āśramāntara-prāptayē labdhānu-jnānah sa samāvṛita syāt” (Amara) The word *tarka* refers to the science of logical reasoning in accordance with the orthodox method, *mīmāṃsā-nyāya* as it is termed What is contained in the *nirukta* passage quoted above is put in the following two verses by Manu¹ —

Ārsham dharmōpadēśam cha Vēda-Śāstr-āvirōdhinā-yas-
tarkēn-anusandhattē sa dharmam vēda nētarah ।
Dharmēn-ādhitatō yaistu Vēdah sa-pari-brīhmitah tē sishtā
Brāhmanāh jñēyāh Śruti-pratyaksha-hētavah

Now to the minor sources of information Every nation has a store-house of legends, miracles, fables and traditions which when examined carefully disclose points of striking similarity Legends and traditions have as their basis nuclei of facts, though in their details they are completely untrustworthy for purposes of history A careful examination of them is necessary to find out the central fact on which the legends are developed, for facts however trifling they may be, do not deserve to be discarded The South is specially rich in miracles said to have been wrought by many a great man who appeared on the scene of life in different ages and left behind him the undying monumental labours of his life Such are the actions attributed to the 63 Śaiva devotees, the 12 Alwars and the bhaktas who followed in their wake When we proceed to examine the incidents connected with the lives of these great personages we find that some parts of them are highly romantic, some are fabulous and the rest a tissue of miracles On this score they cannot be rejected without any

1 Kullūka-Bhatta's comment on V 106 of Ch XII and Ch XII
Vv 106-109 *Ibid*

enquiry into them. On careful examination one may find that some of them are based on facts as well authenticated as facts of such a kind can be. We can easily persuade ourselves to believe that the miracles attributed to great men have not been actually wrought by them but what successive generations of admirers of their wonderful achievements gradually invested and credited them with fulfilment. In all probability there were floating miracles which the mind of the admirer loved to attribute to particular saints. This, if accepted, would satisfactorily account for the same miracle being associated with more than one person. Attribution of miraculous deeds to persons are gradually done not during their life-time but some generations after they had passed away.

It is thus helpful in a way to show that some time must have elapsed between the lifetime of the persons and the first mention of them with miraculous attributes. King Kochchengannan is mentioned in the hymns of Jnānasasbandha as having been a spider in his previous life. This might be taken to show that the Chōla king lived some time prior to the sage poet. Miracles themselves have no place in history and are to be rejected without hesitation. Our experience of nature and human capacity is such that we have to view these wonderful stories as being beyond the pale of belief improbable as they are of occurrence. We may quote the words of one of 19th century historians Mr J. A. Froude who says "Science has less respect for the undoubting and submissive willingness to believe. The element of miracle which has evaporated from the entire surface of history will not maintain itself but will melt like a snow ball." Who among us will believe or take for facts of history that a person was capable of bringing a dead girl to life, made a crocodile to vomit forth the child which it had devoured years ago, or changed a pack of jackals into horses. Though all of us would have discredited without the slightest hesitation the truth of these if they were associated with any foreign nation, yet it is not too much to say that our minds do attach so much importance to these wonderful

achievements, believed to have been performed by some of our great men that we are almost inclined to hold that these miracles are not entirely false. It therefore requires some training and even effort on our part to guard ourselves against erring in this direction. It is easy to be a judge in a case and give correct verdict too when we are not interested in the parties, concerned or the parts played by them.

In the writing of history, especially when it is in the making, it is necessary to cite authority for every bit of what we write. This is the reason why we find the writings of scholars flooded with footnotes. It must be remembered that in failing to do this we commit a grave offence.

A word may now be said about literary evidences. Facts gleaned from literature cannot be regarded as direct evidence, especially when they are taken from poetical works, because they are by their very nature highly coloured by the imagination of the poets. But there are works which though of poetic nature are only so in their form. In the mode of treatment, it appears that this class of works could be relied upon for purposes of history. They seem to contain trustworthy accounts of early kings although they do not throw light as regards the time when they lived or how long they reigned. The student is therefore confronted with difficulties when he attempts to arrange the kings mentioned in them in a chronological sequence. But here we see that the intention of the author is not to display either emotion or the subtilty of their imaginations, but merely to record events and facts as he had occasion to see personally or to hear from authentic sources. One special feature about them is that they are completely void of all poetical embellishments which we find in the later day compositions (Purananuru, Pattuppattu and the like come under this category). On a perusal of these works, which by the way may be said to be the productions of contemporary bards, will convince any reader that they contain true account of kings & of their times and are as valuable as the sketches of the Greek ambassador Magasthenes and

the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hieun Tsiang etc They give us a true picture of the country, the life of the people and their cultural attainments Some of their faithful descriptions can be verified even at the present day in spite of the changes that have come over the land Since these are the only sources wherefrom we get a glimpse of the remote past, it is necessary that a proper study of them should be made

Under the second category must be included such works as Silappadigaram, Manimegalai, Jivakachintāmanī, Periyapurāṇam Tīruvīlaiyadālpurāṇam and the like where the authors introduce historical characters here and there and spin out a romantic account mixing up fiction and facts Large additions are made to excite wonder and interest and miracles are freely introduced In using the materials supplied in such works for purposes of history one has to be extremely cautious These materials have to be subjected to severe scrutiny and only such parts of them as are capable of verification from other sources can be considered true It may be said that the authors of these works cannot be regarded as contemporaries of the historical personages found in these works

The third class of works introduce fictitious persons and contain accounts of events which never took place. These do not concern us

Some dark spots in the History of the Rāshtrakūtas.

The subject of these lectures viz some dark spots in the history of the Rāshtrakūtas is one that I had noted down for study some time ago when I perused the *prasasti* in the Rāmēśvara inscription of Kṛṣṇa III at Proddatūru in the Anantapur District. On going through the Rāshtrakūta accounts afresh in that connection, it appeared to me that the following questions required elucidation — (1) Whether the family of the Rāshtrakūtas was indigenous to South India or not, (2) Who the earlier members of it were, where they held sway, and whether they had anything to do with the Western Chālukyas, politically or otherwise, before the time of Dantidurga, (3) Dantidurga's end and the puzzle about Kṛṣṇa I's succession as well as the mystery surrounding Rāhappa, (4) What became of the W Chālukyas after they were overthrown by Dantidurga and Kṛṣṇa, and before they again rose into power, (5) The riddle about the lascivious Gōvinda II and his *dhārmic* brother Dhruva, (6) The policy followed by the Rāshtrakūtas towards the subjugated powers of the Eastern Chālukyas, Western Gangas and Pallavas, (7) The state of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom in the days of the boy emperor Amoghavarsha, his son, and his weak successors, (8) The occasion for the rise of Kṛṣṇa III and what contributed to the success of his policy, (9) What the causes of the downfall of the Rāshtrakūtas were and the occasion for the rise of the W Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, and (10) the question regarding the claim of these W Chālukyas to belong to the Bādāmi line. When the Director of Kannada Research asked me to take some subject connected with Kannada literature or history, I was glad that I had an opportunity of presenting my views under the aus-

pices of an institution engaged in research work. But in the writing of this sketch, owing to the want of a good library in my place, I had mainly to depend upon a few reference books that I could command and my own notes taken from time to time. Thanking you for giving me this opportunity to address you, I proceed with the subject

One cannot commence to say anything on the Rāshtrakūtas without a meed of praise to the early writers on the history of that family. They have earned our gratitude for the honest contributions they have made. It will certainly take a long time to replace them as a source book of reference for correct information contained in the inscriptions treating of the families dealt with. Even from the limited information that was available at the time, these early writers did not fail to make an attempt to trace the origin of the family and to fish out its earlier members. The amount of labour they had brought to bear on the task of collecting the materials and handling them, the cogency of their reasoning and the care they had taken in judging impartially on the available evidences, are lessons to future workers. In spite of all the care that had been bestowed and that could be bestowed mistakes are liable to be found, which in the case of these writers one is bound to say, are due, more or less to the dearth of needed information at the time on some particular points. They may require to be altered in the light of fresh materials. Want of care was not much their fault—rather one might complain of their having been overcareful in some respects. The palaeography of inscriptions had been subjected to very severe examination, and a small difference here or there, say of a letter or two, which may be due to more causes than one, or the irregular citation of some details of date, which feature is also to be noticed in numerous records that are palaeographically sound, have led to the condemnation, sometimes of all the parts of the documents, and they have been stamped 'spurious'. It being known that a particular reign held up to a certain year, the genuineness of the records of

a son or other relation, dated in years prior to the demise of the other, had been seriously questioned and suspected

For such disposal of early inscriptions, one has only to look at the numerous Kannada records of the Western Gangas. The effect of this had sometimes been to delay the recognition of some of the historical facts. Even supposing the records are really spurious or forged, one has to see in what respects they are unworthy of credence. There is nothing to be gained by the forger in mis-stating historical events. It looks to us that the parts that would be really untrustworthy and that would require to be very carefully scrutinised in such records are the grant portions. At least to make the reader believe that the document which the forger was manufacturing in secret was genuine, he is sure to state facts of history correctly. Genuine records of Western Gangas or Rāshtrakūṭas discovered in later years show that they contain the same historical information as are found in what had been termed 'spurious records'. As such we cannot entirely ignore, neglect or consign to oblivion, the documents which are found to be defective in regard to the dates they cite or in other respects, such as palaeography etc. It behoves us, therefore, to separate from among documents, the really forged ones, those that are only defective in parts, such others that may appear to be copies made in later years with errors in dates and other particulars, and to adopt the historical information about which no reasonable doubt could be adduced.

In ancient days, when dilapidated temples had to be renovated, it was customary to take down copies of the inscriptions engraved on the walls or on stone slabs that were weather-beaten and to re-engrave them on the walls of the new temple. Sometimes only a gist of inscriptions was given, while in other cases the entire inscription had been reproduced. In all cases, the temple treasury had a file of the original of the grants whose copies were incised on temple walls and stone slabs. In the taking down of copies and re-engraving them, careless scribes have committed many mistakes and these are in ample evidence

Persons who have had experience in examining manuscripts of old works in any language will not only bear out the above view, but will be able to speak about the idiosyncrasies of copyists which are sometimes very unintelligible. In the case of copies of inscriptions re-engraved, sometimes we are fortunate enough to get at the record stating that the whole set of inscriptions are copied over, and the time and occasion for copying and re-engraving. But more often this is not the case. That we have not chanced to get at the remark that particular inscriptions are copies, should not deter us from bestowing the same attention as we would if they are clearly stated to be such. Let it be remembered that even such inscriptions as are considered originals,—whether on stone, copper or other materials,—are truly copies of documents which must have been preserved elsewhere. The originals are irrecoverably lost, and we are to-day dealing only with copies, some of them are first copies, some are certified copies of the first, and others whose certification has not been traced. It is curious that a very huge number of inscriptions found in a particular part of the country should be spurious or forged, this must no doubt reflect on the people and stamp them as notorious forgers and false-document makers. What could be fittingly said with regard to these documents, the historical information contained in which agree with that furnished in the genuine grants, is that they are copies made at some early period by scribes who could not correctly decipher the originals. What the circumstances were that gave rise to the making of copies, it cannot now be definitely divined.

The history of the Rāshtrakūta line has suffered to some extent by the view taken of a few of the facts represented in *prasaṣtis*,—which *p̣asaṣtis*, we think, are clearly intended to extol the excellence of the members of the family and not to bring ill fame to them,—and secondly by consequent inferences based on these views. By the adoption of these views, the *prasaṣtis* convey the very opposite of the subject intended by the writers. As a result, misrule, ill-feeling, internal dissensions and

chosen such as had struck them to be of importance or such as had proved to be events of outstanding merit, and left out others which they did not think to be of much value. In thus cutting off the verses from regular narratives and piecing them together to form a brief outline of the past achievements of the family, and prefacing them, along with others of their own composition, to the grants made in their own time, the readers are sometimes handicapped to trace the thread of the story owing to the missing links which are indispensable for the easy understanding of the history of the dynasty. There could be no two opinions that the composers of the *pras'astis* would have deliberately eschewed such facts whose incorporation would have detracted the glory of the past members of the family. The eschewed passages have greatly distorted the real history of the family. We shall endeavour to show this in pursuing the events of the reigns of kings commencing with Dantidurga. With this preamble, I shall follow in this lecture the contents of the Proddatūru inscription whose text, is given in No 68 of S I I Vol IX Part, I edited by Messers N L Rao and R Shāmā Sastry. This inscription and a few others are particularly valuable for the light they shed on many a dark spot in the history of the Rāshtrakūtas.

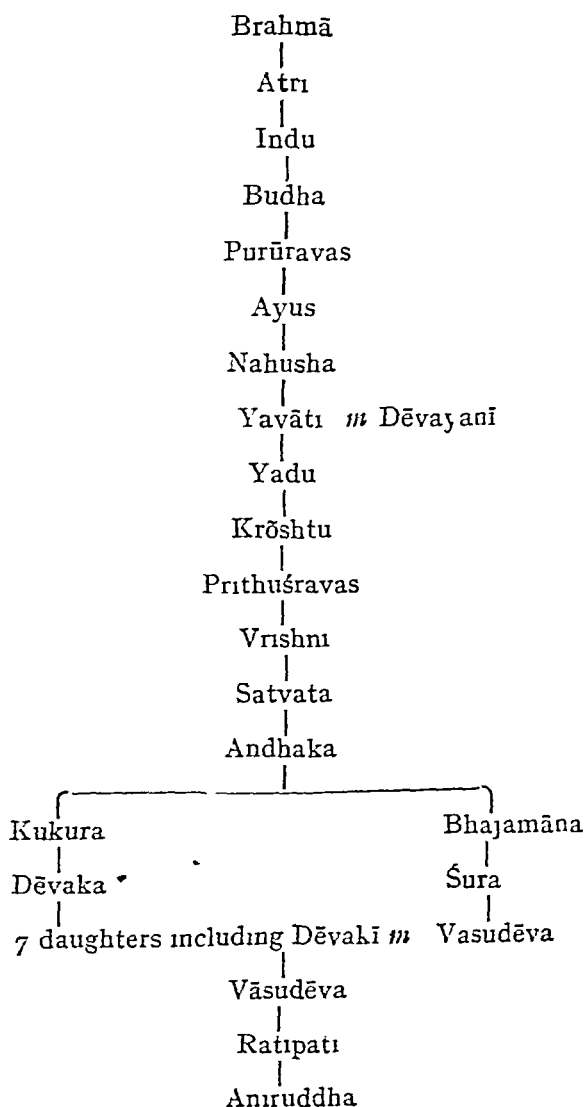
The mythical genealogy of the family is the first. Verse 2 of the Proddatūru record reads —

Astī Brahmā tat-Ōtrīr-Atrēr-anu-nayanataś-ch-Ēndur-Indōr
Budh-ōbhūj-jātas-Sōmānvaṃ ānām prathama-narapatis-tasya
dīrghhāyur—asmāt

Jātō—sau bhūmip-ēndrō Yadur—itī Kukurō Vṛiṣṇnīr—asy—
āpī jātas—śrī—Vāsudēvas—tad-anu Ratipatī—tat-sutas—ch —
Āniruddhah "

"There was Brahmā, from him Atri, from his eyes the Moon (Irdu) from him Budha from him Āyus, who was the first of the kings of the lunar line from him Yadu from him Kukurō Vṛiṣṇnī from him Vāsudēva then came Ratipatī his son was Aniruddha. Thus, in the family of the Yadus, there were many powerful kings." We may note here that other inscriptions

say that the Rāshtrakūtas belong to the Sātyakī branch of the family of Yadu of the Lunar race. Though for purposes of Rāshtrakūta history this account is not of much use, the pedigree of the mythical kings may be noted. They are available in the Purānas



Between Budha and Āyus, Purānas insert Purūravas, and between Āyus and Yadu are given Nahusha and Yayāti. Vṛishni came in the line of Krōshtu, the son of Yadu, and his lineal descendent was Satvata whose grandsons were Kukura and Bhajamāna. The ninth in descent from Kukura were the 7 daughters of Dēvaka who were married to Vasudēva, the 9th in descent from Bhajamāna. Their son was Vāsudēva.

The name Rāshtrakūta is explained in the Proddatūru inscription thus —

“Tasmin kulē sakala-vāridhi-chāru-vichē Kāñchī-bhritau mahita-bhūmi-mahāmahishyah Bhartt-ābhavan-nripa-sahasraka-mauli-mānyam Śrī-Rāshtrakūta itī nāma nījan-dadānah (v 4)”

The Deolī¹ and the Karhad² plates seem to suggest that the family was originally called ‘Tunga’, in that family there was Raṭta and the kings that came after him were said to be of the Rāshtrakūta-vamśa so called after Ratta’s son. The Proddatūru inscription also employs ‘*tungānvaya*’ in describing Gōvinda III in verse 9 which is but partially preserved.

The origin of the family is wrapt in mystery. We have no means of knowing it with certainty. With regard to some of the families that held sway in southern India, we have indications that their early ancestors belonged to royal houses and came from different places and settled down in the South. The account about the Western Chālukyas for instance contained in the following statement viz “When commencing with him, 59 emperors, whose succession was uninterrupted, and who sat on the throne of Ayōdhyā had passed away, a king of this race, Vijayāditya by name, went to the Dekhan (*Dakṣhināpatha*), in order to conquer (it) and having overthrown Trilōchana-Pallava, through ill-luck went to another world”, and then it speaks about the birth of Vishnuvardhana etc. This shows that the ancestors of the Chālukyas were ruling over Ayōdhyā. The Gangas appear to be

1 Ep Ind Vol V p 188 ff

2 Ibid Vol IV p 286 ff

families of rulers had to leave their homes in northern India and come away very far south, and mustering some strength, occupied a portion further north to contend successfully with their enemies, if possible. While the career of the Western Gangas and Western Chālukyas that founded kingdoms in the South was cut short in a few centuries, the branch lines i.e. the Eastern Gangas and the Eastern Chālukyas had a longer life. But as regards the lofty family (*Tungānvaya*) of the Rāshtrakūtas the members of which claim to have showered gold, happiness, and wealth in plenty, always and out of season, on their subjects, the origin is wrapt in mystery.

As regards the name of the earliest member, let known to us by the *prasasti* writers viz. Ratta, one may suspect if it is the name of a real person that ever was, or is only an eponym like Chōla, Pallava etc. But as recording the belief in those early days regarding the existence of a personality it is worth noting. Then there comes the question which is the original, Ratta or Rāshtrakūta. Before Amōghavarsha I, the term Ratta is not found used. As such, is this a late appellation, and if so, what was the name by which the members of the family were called in the first instance? Of the terms Ratta and Rāshtrakūta, which is the original and which the derived one?

There is no doubt that in the early inscriptions, the term Rāshtra is used to denote a district or subdivision, and the members composing the body representing the territorial division were called Rāshtralūta-pramukhas [in Tamil Nāttir or Nāttupperumalal], and these were in direct charge of the administration. Besides this representative body, there were also district or divisional officers appointed by the State who must have been styled Rāshtrapatis or Rāshtrakūtas. These officers were honoured with honours not only of one division but were also addressed as local governors of more than one. In early inscriptions the word Rāshtrakūta is found in connection with the title of the ruler, but it is not clear whether it is a title of the ruler or of the officers.

lords and highly placed officers, for cognisable valuable services, rendered by them and the descendents of them, by their ability, intelligence and sagacity, found opportunities to rise much beyond their original status to the position of kings. When the Vijayanagara kingdom had grown to vast extent, the kings of the dynasty established capable men to rule over the provinces, and these were styled the Nāyakas. These provincial governors, by some inviolable terms not yet known to us, held their position hereditarily and acknowledged the overlordship of the sovereign power even when that power had been reduced to a state of insignificance. The position of the provincial chiefs remained unaffected and they were practically independent. Almost all great dynasties, in their palmy days, had followed the same principle. In some cases members belonging to the royal house were entrusted with the government of conquered territories. Thus the Pallavas, Chōlas and Pāndyas had created such provincial rulers. Though the origin of the later Kādavarāya chiefs is wrapt in obscurity, there is no doubt that their first ancestor was a member of the Pallava lineage. The Pattapi-Chōla family was a creation of the Chōla king Parāntaka I, after whom they styled themselves Madhurāntaka Pattapi-Chōlas. Some of the Telugu-Chōda chiefs, who traced their descent from Karikāla, and the Chōla-Pāndya and viceroys of the Pāndya Kērala countries, who were also related to the members of the imperial family of the Chōlas of Tanjore, are other instances. In fact among the duties enjoined on kings of yore,—such as the protection of the *dharma* of his subjects, the administration of the country in accordance with the established laws, the enforcing of the laws of the *kula*, *grāma*, *jāti*, *janapada*, *nagara* or *śrēṣṭi*, the proper using of the four-fold means of subjection, the granting of *parihāras* laying down *vyavasthas*, the earning of merit by the construction of works of public utility, making and granting of new villages, building of temples, feeding-houses and resting places, the digging of tanks, non-interference with the daily management of religious and

charitable endowments etc.,—the establishment of royal families or ruling chiefs is one. It was in accordance with this ancient rule of practice that several new families had come in and their origin remains to be traced. In some cases, tradition, as recorded in inscriptions, has preserved the origin of the family as noted already. When feudal lords assumed independence, there seems some likelihood of their preserving the origin in the titles which they bore. The titles *Dalavāy* and *Nāyak* indicate that they were commanders of armies under their suzerain lords. Whether a similar origin could be traced for the *Rāshtrakūtas* requires to be investigated.

Some early members of the Rāshtrakūtas

The *Merkara* plates of the Western Ganga king *Avinīta* mention a certain *Akālavarsha-Śubhatunga* as having flourished in the 5th century A.D. Dr. Hultzsch has expressed the view that this *Akālavarsha-Subhutunga* may be the *Rāshtrakūta* king *Krishna*, father of *Indra* defeated by the Western *Chalukya* *Jayasimha I*. There is so much in the name and title of *Akālavarsha-Śubhatunga* that it is impossible to take him for a person of any other family. The *Merkara* plates and many others have indeed been pronounced as spurious by Fleet. Hultzsch did not consider his judgement a bar to the identification that he had made. The reference is important as proving the existence of the *Rāshtrakūta* family at or before the time when the Western *Chalukyas* settled themselves in South India. At least Hultzsch did not think there was any impossibility of a *Rāshtrakūta* figuring in such an early period and did not also question the correctness of *Jayasimha's* victory over the *Rāshtrakūta* *Krishna*. But Fleet took a different view. Speaking of certain coins he said, "though the tendency has been to refer these coins to an early *Rāshtrakūta* king, who is supposed to have been conquered (in parentheses you will note that it is a supposition but a plain statement made in a grant) about 400 A.D. 500, by the Western *Chalukya* *Jayasimha I* will

there is nothing that compels us to connect them with the Rāshtrakūta or any particular dynasty, and nothing to lead us to believe that any victory over the Rāshtrakūtas or, indeed, any historical achievement at all, was accomplished by Jayasimha. The supposed existence of an early Rāshtrakūta king Krishna-rāja, contemporaneous with Jayasimha I, depends on nothing but a statement which first appears in the 11th century A D and is to be accounted for by events which occurred about A D 975 " He adds " according to the Kauthem grant of A D 1009, there was an early Rāshtrakūta king Indra, son of Krishna, who was conquered by Jayasimha I of the family of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, about the beginning of the 6th century A D The statement in question appears first in the 11th century A D after the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūtas by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāni " Because Dr Fleet has thought that " there is nothing whatever to support it in the early records, it is to be accounted for simply by the facts that after the overthrow of Karka II by Taila II, there survived Indra IV, grandson of Krishna III by crowning whom the Ganga prince Mārasimha attempted to continue the Rāshtrakūta sovereignty " It is open to you to adopt this ingenious way of brushing away a fact and to lightly say that the Indians believed that history repeated itself and charter writers attributed to earlier kings of the family that they dealt with the achievements of later members ' While the above was the view of Fleet on the Merkara plates in which Akālavārsha Śubhatunga occurs and of the express statement that Jayasimha defeated Rāshtrakūta Krishna, son of Indra, he has held that Attivarman of the Guntur district grant may possibly be a Rāshtrakūta He notes " Attivarman is described as born in the family of king Kandara which was descended from the lineage of a great sage Ānanda and was purified by worshipping the God Śīmbhu at Vankāwara " The grant has been treated as Pallava " It is difficult to adopt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to posterity of *hiranyagubha* i e Brahmā On the

other hand, the name Kandhara,—and doubtless Kandhara also,—is a variant of Krishna, and this suggests that he may possibly have been an early Rāshtrakūta "

Discoveries since made had not been favourable to the surmise of Fleet. In the preface to Volume VI of the South-Indian Inscription, I drew attention to a lithic record at Chezerala in the Guntur district which refers itself to the rule of the early Pallava king Mahēndravarmma-mahārāja of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, called also by the titles Avambhājana, and Vēgavatīsanātha. On the other face of the slab there is another inscription written in the same script this and the one of Mahēndravarman seem to be materially connected. Though this inscription is much damaged, it has been possible to make out that the grandson of the chief Kandarāja through his daughter made rich donations to the local temple. Kandarāja, the inscription tells us, belonged to the lineage of Ānandamaharishi and was the lord of Kandarapura-janapada. He is styled *Trikūṭa-parvata-pati*. It appears that he had the banner of a monkey (*gō'āṅgūla-vijayakēlana*). The further information that we could gather from the epithet *sitēlara Bennānātha* given to him in the inscription is that the region where he held sway lay in the country watered by the Kṛṣṇā river. These details are enough to exclude him from being a member of the Rāshtrakūta line, though there could be no doubt that the term *janapadādhipati* applied to him is an equivalent of 'a Rāshtrakūta king'.

On the other hand his daughter is stated to be a great queen and her husband, who must have been of a different house was a ruling chief or of royal descent. The chiefly interesting account about her son is that he is called Prithvīvarāja, that he had the banner of the eagle (*grīdhṛādhyāsita-ketanah*) and his seal had the *garuḍa* mark (*sa-garuḍa-muraripu-sarāṭh-i-sīsanah*). He was the lord of *Sampriddhapal'-janapadu*. This *janapadādhipati* may well be a member of the Rāshtrakūta line to judge from the seal and banner.

What is specially worthy of note about this *janapadādhipati*—a term which means a Rāshtrakūṭa—is that his inscription is engraved on the one face of the same slab on which a record of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I is incised, and almost in the same hand. Like the Rāshtrakūṭas, the chief had the *lānchhana* and flag. That there were other *janapadādhipatis*, who had different flags and seals, is clear from this very inscription which speaks of Kandararāja, the grandfather by the mother's side of the above mentioned chief, as the lord of Kandarapuravarajanapada and styled Trikūta-parvatapati having a monkey banner, he was the lord of the region watered by the Kṛishnā river. Since Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II was entrusted with the rule of the Vēṅgī country in circa A D 615, the Chezerala inscription of Mahēndravarman I must be placed before that date. We may not be far wrong if we assign it to the year immediately preceding the commencement of the tour of conquest of Pulakēśin II (A D 609-612) in which he successfully defeated the kings of Kanauj, Kōsala and Kalinga, reduced the fortress of Pishtapura, and forced the Pallava king to take refuge within the ramparts of Kāñchī. It seems unlikely that Mahēndravarman I had any hold on the region of the Kṛishnā after A D 615. It is interesting to note that Prithvīyavarāja figures as an *ājñapti* in the Kopparam grant of Pulakēśin II dated in the 21st year of reign (A D 630). His deeds of valour are described therein. He is said to have defeated the circle of enemies by his arm, which was the churning stick of the wicked people of the *Kali* age and which had performed daring deeds in many battles wielding the drawn sword. He is said to have secured the kingdom to the lineage of Pulakēśin's son. Unless we are assured that there were two Prithvīyavarājas flourishing in the same time as indicated by the Kopparam grant of Pulakēśin II and the Chezerala inscription of the time of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I, we find no serious difficulty in identifying the two. The identification has much to tell us. There is no question that the Pallavas lost their hold

on the region, and their place was taken up by the Western Chalukyas, and their feudal subordinates. If Prithvīyuvārāja of *garuḍa-lāñchhana* and *grīdhraḍhvaja* was a Rāshtrakūta, the political relationship of his to the Western Chalukya house at the time, is clearly seen by his fighting with the enemies of his overlord resulting in securing the kingdom to the son of Pulakēśin II. Though Pulakēśin II carried everything before him in the first quarter of the seventh century A D, his reverses were not far off. Mahēndravarman's successor proved finally more than a match for him. The Koppāram plate indicates unmistakably that Pulakēśin and his sons were involved in trouble before A D 630 and a feudal subordinate had to come for rescue. The downfall of Pulakēśin II and the sacking of Bādāmi has been placed by Dr Fleet just before A D 643. The fact that the inscription of Narasiṃhavarman I on the Jayasthamba set up by him after sacking the city is dated in the 13th year of the Pallava king's reign, makes it clear that he succeeded Mahēndravarman in A D 629-30 at the latest. This year, it may be noted, corresponds to the date of the Koppāram grant i.e. Pulakēśin's 21st year of reign. The Pallava hold on the city must have lasted for more than a decade from A D 643 to A D 655, which period is a blank in the history of the Western Chalukyas. That Vikramāditya I and his brothers were grown up in A D 630 is evidence by the same plates as well as from the account furnished in the Western Chalukya records of Vikramāditya's successors. While Vikramāditya concentrated his attention to making the unbending Pallava to bow before him and subduing the southern powers i.e. Pāṇḍya, Chōla, Kérala and Kalabhras, he seems to have entrusted the command of the army fighting in the north to his son and grandson. It is said that Vinayāditya at the command of his father engaged himself in a war with the northern kings and obtained the *Pālīdhvaja* banner

1 pitur ājñayā sakala uttarāpatha - nātha - mathanōpārjita-
pālīdhvajādisamasta-paramaiśvaryya-chihṇasya mahārājādhīrājaparamēśvara
Vinayādityasya

which was the symbol of paramountcy and had it for the family, and that Vijayāditya advanced forth with the vanguard of his grandfather's forces and appropriated *Gangā-yamunā-pāḍhvaja-patādhakka-mahāsabda-chihna*¹ From the above, we see that the *Pāḍhvaja* had become the permanent banner of the Western Chālukyas since the time of Vikramāditya. Any defeat inflicted on the Western Chālukyas will be signalled by the capture of the *Pāḍhvaja* banner. This is necessary to be borne in mind in what we are going to say about the Rāshtrakūṭas whose banner was *garuda* or *grīdhra*.

Another fact to be remembered is that the Chālukyas termed themselves Vallabha and this term was also used by others to denote them. The Koppāram plates of Pulakēśin II call him Vallabha². Pallava and Pāndya inscriptions refer to the Western Chālukyas as Vallabha. So well known was the title Vallabha of the Chālukyas that the writer of the Udayēndīram plates of Nandivarman referred to the kings of this line by this title alone without even mentioning their names —³

Text 1 14 f Tasmāt Agastya iva vimathita Vātāpih
Pariyala - Manimangala - Śūramāra - prabhṛtiṣhu jētā bahuśō
Vallabharājasya Narasimhavarmma Ibid 1 16 f Peruvalanallūra-
yuddhē vijita-Vallabhah Paramēśvaravarmma These two Palla-
va kings and their conquest of the Vallabhas are described in
the Vēlūrpālayam plates thus —

V II Tad-ātmaṣād āvirabhūn - Mahēndrād - upēndrakīrttir-
Narasimhavarmma Vātāpi-madhyē vijit-āri-varggah-sthitañ-jaya-
stambham-alambhayad yah

1 dākṣhiṇīpatha-vijayini pitūmahū gurūr-agratah ēva ābava-vyāpā-
ramīcharan Gangā-Yamunā-pāḍhvaja-patāha-dhakkā-mahāsabda-chihna
pitrisīd-kurvan sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakṛti pāḍhvajādya-ujjvala
prajya ruyōVijayāditya mahārājadhīrāja-paramēśvara

2 Be it known to you that Vallabha being present in person, the execution (of the grant) was formally etc., "

3 S I I Vol III p 366

V 12 Tatah paramada-dhvamsi babbhūva Paramēśvarah
Chālukya-kshitibhritsainya-dhvānta-dhvamsa-divākarah

In later times, the epithet became more commonly adopted by other rules as well Rāshtrakūtas sometimes affixed to their names and titles ' Vallabha ' as Śubhatungavallabha, Amōghavarshavallabha etc This indiscriminate later application of the term causes no small confusion, and one has to be very cautious to find out who is really meant by the term whenever it occurs

But it is not the case with the ' *Pālidhvaja* ' It refers to the particular kind of banner which the Western Chālukyas obtained in the first instance from some northern powers and appropriated to themselves Therefore, it would appear that the Western Chālukyas had no banner of their own before the time when they adopted this banner Even if they had, the express statement that they appropriated it to themselves shows their willing preference But it may be said that this is not usual, and one would not easily prefer to use another's banner or other *insignia* of royalty I think we may be perfectly sure that when a king is said to have had the Pālidhvaja banner, he was a Chālukya and that when the banner of a king is said to have been captured by another it means that the former sustained a defeat The statement cannot be taken literally, as it is sometimes done From the foregoing, it will be seen that Prithvīyuvārāja has a better claim to be regarded as an early member of the Rāshtrakūtas by his banner and *lāñchhana* than the two others who were suspected to be of that line That he was a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmī and rendered them valuable service in times of need is worthy of note

The Rāshtrakūta family comes into prominence in the days of Dantidurga at the end of the first half of the 8th century A D we have to see the circumstances that favoured the rise of the family in South India and the state

of the Dekhan at the time Two of the greatest powers of South India were the Pallavas and the western Chālukyas The Pallavas were holding suzerain power all along the Eastern part of the Madras presidency (right up to Trichinopoly) for a number of centuries from the time of Śiva skandavarman Their expansion obliterated for a period one of the most powerful kingdoms of Southern India : e the Chōlas The Bānas were their feudatory allies and their territory lay next to the West and North stretching up to Śrīsailam Of Mayūraśarman the first Kadamba king (cir 5th century A D) it is said that he levied tribute from the Bānas The Bāna country (Perumbānappādī) lay to the West of Vadugavalī Further West were the dominions of the Western Gangas ¹ By some terms of treaty, the Pallavas seem to have had a hand in the anointment of the Western Ganga kings Ayyavarman or Harivarman and Simhavārman *alias* Mādhavavarman were crowned by the Pallava sovereigns Simhavarman and Skandavarman ² Fleet gives to Ayyavarman's son Mādhā mahādhīrāja Simhavarman, installed by Skandavarman of the Pallavas, A D 470 This date is none too high for him The interest taken by the Pallavas, at this time : e before the rise of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, in the coronation of the Western Gangas is noteworthy as indicating somewhat a close political relationship between the two houses When the same right was exercised even in the days of Nandivarman III, one could see clearly that this cordiality continued At the time when the Western Chālukyas appeared on the scene and carved out a kingdom for themselves by defeating the Kadambas and Western Gangas, the Pallavas had to contend with them from their inception to the end A genuine charter of Vikramāditya II, the Western Chālukya king, makes a clear admission of the sufferings inflicted on that king's predecessors by the Pallavas, and tells us of his own attitude

1 Of Konguvarman the progenitor of the Western Gangas, it is recorded that he was anointed to conquer the Bāna maṇḍala

2 Ip Ind Vol XIV p 332

towards them ¹ It is recorded here " He (Vikramāditya II) resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallavas who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born of his race "

With Kīrtivarman II, the son and successor of Virkramāditya II, whose reign extended up to A D 775, the career of the main line of Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi came to an end (Chālukya-rājya-śrīr antarayiny abhavat bhuvi ²) The winding-up of this line did not benefit the Pallavas, who were all along contending with them, exhausting themselves and their opponents The final defeat of the Western Chālukya Kīrtivarman was inflicted by the Rāshtrakūtas and they came to occupy their place By the way, we have to take particular note of the fact that the main line of the pallavas came to close in about the beginning of the 8th century A D The state of affairs in the pallava country which was left without a legitimate claimant in the main line, necessitating the ministers and others to go about borrowing one from a collateral branch, must have given a very favourable opportunity for the Rāshtrakūta predecessors of Dantidurga to rise into sudden importance resulting finally in the overthrow of the Western Chālukyas The Rāshtrakūtas had to contend hard with the newly set up king Nandivarman Pallavamalla supported as he was by an able general, and the final act of Dantidurga was really a very daring one The territory over which the Western Chālukyas ruled, and to which their political successors, the Rāshtrakūtas became practical heirs, is defined in copper-plates as ' *Sētu-Narmadā-madhyam sārḍha-saptalakṣham* ' and it is said that it was obtained by the Western Chālukyas in the first instance by conquering the Kadambas and the Western Gangas (*Kadamba Gangān nirjṇya* ³) The Western Chālukyas called the Western Gangas as their hereditary servants⁴

1. S I I Vol I p 146

2 Ind Ant Vol VII p 11 f

3 S I I Vol I p 54

4 Ind. Ant Vol VII p 303.

We know that the territory of the Rāshtrakūtas in South India was called Raṭṭapāḍi and that it consisted of seven and a half lakshas. Being obtained by conquering the Western Chālukyas, it could be no other than the territory which they originally secured from the Kadambas and Western Gangas and which bore the same index *sārdha-saptalaksham* as noted already. In this connection we may note that in India the original country or kingdom generally, always remained as such, and fresh conquests gave the conqueror only increased power and wealth as well as overlordship of the conquered territories which be it remembered, were left to be ruled by one of the members of the vanquished rulers. It is only in extreme cases, annexation of territories took place even then the added territories very often retained their original extents and sometimes their names also. The *Dharma* of the country had been,—and it was followed or acted up to through ages,—that when a country had of necessity to be subdued by invasion which is the last of the four means that a king had to adopt, and the life of the enemy had to be sacrificed in battle, a *vamsya* of the hostile king was invariably set up in the subjugated country. Vāli and Rāvana might be despatched but in their places Sugrīva and Vibhīshana had to be installed. Though annexation of conquered territories might be the best expedient to prevent recurrence of wars and the consequent loss of lives, and remove the evil once for all it was seldom adopted in India, being not sanctioned by the Hindu Law. The Chōla conquest of the Vēṅgi country by Rājārāja I resulted in the installing of Dānārṇava. The Pāṇḍya King Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, when he reduced the Chōla dominions, volunteered to give back the kingdom and did so on the king submitting to the conqueror. The Chōla conquest of the Pāṇḍya and the Kērala countries by Rājendra Chōla I and his predecessors, finally resulted in the appointment of a Chōla viceroy in the two countries, in addition to the ruling kings of the place. The same procedure may also be found adopted by the Rāshtrakūtas, as will be seen in the sequel.

The position occupied by the Rāshtrakūtas in South India, as sketched above, at once determined who their enemies were or would be. Foremost among the enemies would be the Western Chālukyas themselves, who, whenever they found fit opportunities, would try to avail of them to throw off their allegiance to the conqueror and to regain their original position. By stepping into the place of the Western Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas became the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas with their feudatories the Western Gangas, as were the Western Chālukyas before them. They would necessarily have to contend with the Bānas. It is also patent that no good feeling might be expected to last between the newly planted Rāshtrakūtas and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi in whose veins the blood of the Western Chālukyas ran. The history of the Rāshtrakūtas must tell us how they grappled with the situation in South India, leave alone the part which they must have had to play with the powers that surrounded them in the country subjected to their original sway.

The Proddatūru inscription speaking of Dantidurga says¹ — "In this family there was the glorious Dantidurga who was the sole ruler of the earth, whose strength of arm was irresistible, and who long enjoyed as his sole mistress the Rāja-lakshmi that was obtained by churning the ocean of (the family of) the Chālukyas. On the entreaties of the damsels of the worlds of gods, the king Sāhasatunga went, while (yet) he was a youth, to heaven, just as a sun passes to the other world."

The Proddatūru inscription tells us that Dantidurga enjoyed Lakshmi (i.e. the country) that was obtained by churning the ocean (i.e. by putting to route the armies of the Chālukyas). The achievement of Dantidurga is not new to history: it is

¹ "The Proddatūru inscription speaks of Dantidurga as the sole ruler of the earth, whose strength of arm was irresistible, and who long enjoyed as his sole mistress the Rāja-lakshmi that was obtained by churning the ocean of (the family of) the Chālukyas. On the entreaties of the damsels of the worlds of gods, the king Sāhasatunga went, while (yet) he was a youth, to heaven, just as a sun passes to the other world."

even more vividly described elsewhere as we shall see presently But that Dantidurga was also known as Sāhasatunga and that he passed away while yet he was young, are not given in other records of the rāshtrakutas Dantidurga's daring deeds of valour which must have earned the title or surname Sāhasatunga are described in more than one record¹ —

Kāñchiśa-Kēralā-narādhīpa-Chōla-Pāndya-Śrīharsha-Vajrata-vibhēda-vidhāna-daksham Karnātakam balam anantam ajēyam-anyairbhṛityaiḥ kiyadbhirapi yasahasājigāya||Abhrū,vibhangam-agrhiṭa nīśāta-śāstram ajñātam apranibhītājñam apētayatnam Yō Vallabham sapadī danda-balēna jītvā Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-tāmavāpa ||

The conquest of Vallabha, by which is meant the Chālukya king Kirtivarman II, and the Karnāta army which had in previous years defeated Śrīharsha, Vajraṭa and others, as found stated in Dantidurga's own record of Samangad² dated in A D 754, is noticed in the Talegaon plates³ of Kṛṣṇa I dated in A D 768, the Alas plates⁴ of the *yūvarāja* Gōvinda II dated in A D 770 and elsewhere also, and no difficulty was felt in identifying the Vallabha mentioned therein with the Western Chālukya Kirtivarman II It was by defeating this powerful Western Chālukya ruler that Dantidurga obtained the title of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara, the supreme lord of kings, an epithet which necessarily implies that the conquered was a powerful king of some other dynasty We think that a king of the Rāshtrakūṭa line will not be entitled to this high title of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara by simply overcoming or subduing a prince of his own line who proved himself turbulent

Dantidurga's earliest known inscription is that engraved on the Ellora plates,⁵ dated in Śaka 663 (A D 742) and pronounc-

1 See for instance Ep Ind Vol XIII v 6 in p and Vol XXII p 182 v 8

2 Ind Ant. Vol XI p 11.

3 Ep Ind. Vol XIII p 275

4 Ibid Vol II p 209

5 Ibid Vol XXV p 25 f

ed genuine by the editor That Dantidurga did not reign long but passed away while he was yet young (*Svas-sundarī-prārthitē yūni divam gatē*) as the Proddatūru inscription puts it, is to some extent borne out by the fact that so far as known, he had only a reign of 16 years from A D 742 of the Ellora plates to A D 758 the earliest known date of Krishna I,¹ and there is likelihood of Krishna I having conquered and obtained possession of Vallabha's territory immediately after his accession coinciding with the date of the demise of Kirtivarman in A D 758 That Dantidurga left no sons and that Krishna I, his paternal uncle, succeeded him are recorded in many Rāshtrakūta records

We shall now take up the question as to what became of the country conquered by Dantidurga, after his demise There is no doubt that eventually Krishnarāja I brought it under his rule, relieving the subjects from the oppression which they were said to have been under-going under a certain Vallabha One of the acts that mars the fine history of the Rāshtrakūta family, as we have it presented, is that at the commencement of the reigns of almost all the kings of this line, there had been a dispute about succession, a feature that is seldom met with in any other annals or Indian kingdoms and that is hardly possible to be found in a family of kings who had good schooling in *Dharma* before assuming the royal purple, who were surrounded by fearless and learned councillors with good family traditions and high character, who had for their guidance the *Smritis* propounded by wise sages and the *Itihāsas* that put the principles in practical examples We are in the threshold of the first of these untoward phenomena and it behoves us to investigate the matter thoroughly One of the early authorities on the Rāshtrakūta history² was discrediting the statement of the Kadamb plate that Dantidurga died childless on the score that it is found in a record 20 years after the occurrence He was of opinion that

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 207

² *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 113

the prince dethroned or destroyed by Krishna I could not have been Dantidurga, as had been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family

We have noted about Dantidurga (i) that he died childless, (ii) that after him, Karkarāja's son Kṛishnarāja I ascended the throne ridding the country of the sufferings which it was undergoing under a certain Vallabha, (iii) that Dantidurga went to heaven while he was yet a youth and (iv) that his reign, so far as we know it, extends only to 16 years. It will be seen that the last facts only go to confirm what is reported in the Kadaba plates. Add to these, we may say that no mention of son of Dantidurga is made either in his own records or in others.

Now, the Proddatūru inscription tells us pointedly that on the death of Dantidurga, the country was reduced to the position of a *vēśyā*, before it came under the permanent enjoyment of Kṛishnarāja. The verse under reference is —

Tasmin Sāhasatunga-nāmnī nripatau Svas-sundarī-prārthitē
yātē yūni divam divākarasamam vēśya ēva Lakshmī tatah ।
Tatrāvāpa bhuja-dvayēna nibīdam sāslishya ramyair gunaih prītyā
prānasamam chiram ramayati Śrī-Kṛishnarājādhipam ॥

Vēśyēva applied to Lakshmī (i.e. the kingdom) leads one to infer that the kingdom was subject to the possession of at least one else before it passed into the hands of Kṛishnarāja. It is a question whether the one into whose possession it fell at first was a member of the Rāshtrakūta line or not. More probably he was not of the line. Next the use of the word *chiram* with regard to her union with Krishna I is suggestive of the fact that it was only for a short time that it was under another and that it did not take long for Krishna to obtain it. Lastly the verse also indicates that Dantidurga left no sons to succeed him. In this connection it is necessary to refer to verses which speak of Dantidurga and Kṛishna I. Just as it is said of Dantidurga that he obtained the paramount dignity of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara after conquering

Vallabha,¹ Krishnarāja is said to have obtained the same dignity by conquering a certain Rāhappa.² The question is whether the kings overcome viz Vallabha and Rāhappa must be rulers of different countries or whether they were members of the Rāstra-kūta line. We have noted that the very title Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara which the conqueror obtained suggests that the kings vanquished must be rulers of different countries. In the account about Dantidurga and Krishnarāja, we find that the conquest of Vallabha which gave the dignity of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara to Dantidurga is immediately followed by a verse which states "that when the Vallabha had passed away Karkkarāja's son Krishnarāja became king." Vallabha here is usually taken to refer to Dantidurga and not to the immediately preceding Vallabha whom Dantidurga vanquished and who had correctly been identified with the Western Chālukya king Kirtivarman II. This, we think, is done for the natural reason that the succession must speak of the predecessor's passing away. Cannot there be a reference in the verse quoted, to a Western Chālukya king? Barring this reference there is no other which calls Dantidurga by the term Vallabha.

The verse under reference is read as follows in the Talegaon plates —

Tasmin divam prayātē Vallabharājēs-kṛta-prajā-vādha [h] ।

Śrī-Kakkarāja-sūnurmahīpati [h] Krishnarāj-ōbhūt ॥

and this has been rendered "After he, the Vallabharāja, had gone to heaven, Krishnarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja, who did not oppress his subjects, became the lord of the Earth." A reference to line 12 on the plate will show that there is some space between *va* and *dha* which will just suffice for the *ē* sign of *dhē*. The reading intended is certainly *kṛta-prajā-vā* (*bā*) *dhē* and not *vāda* [h]. In this connection we may also note that there is absolutely no space after *dha*. The *kṛi* of *kṛta* exactly resembles *kṛi* of *Kṛishna* occurring at the end of the same line 12,

1 Ep Ind Vol XIII p 279, v 6 and Vol XXII, p 182 v 8

2 Ibid Vol, XXII p 183

The reading *kṛita-prajā-bādhe* occurs in other plates as well. This word in the locative case is an adjunct of Vallabharāja. Who is this Vallabharāja? In the last half of the previous verse Vallabha has been introduced as the enemy conquered by Dantidurga, and there, there is no doubt that it refers to the Western Chālukya ruler (Kirtivarman II). The words *tasmīn divam prayātē Vallabharājē* following immediately the Vallabha of the previous line may in all likelihood refer to the same person. Besides, Dantidurga is not given the surname Vallabharāja which is generally assumed by the Western Chālukya kings. And for aught we know, as explained already, Kṛishna's accession did not follow the demise of Dantidurga. That the kingdom had been in the enjoyment of another after Dantidurga and before Kṛishna, has also been noted. In editing the Talegaon plates Dr Sten Konow has remarked —

Dr Fleet has mentioned that Dantidurga's epithet Vallabharāja, (which occurs in line 12 of the Talegaon plates), is of interest "because through its Prākṛit form, it explains the name Balharas" by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. used to speak of these kings. Dantidurga's successor was his paternal uncle Kṛishnarāja I, and the present grant was issued by him. According to the Baroda plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakkarāja Suvarnavarsha of Gujerat, Kṛishna ascended the throne after uprooting a relative of his¹, Compare

*Yō vams'yam unṁūlya vimārggabhājam rājyam svayam
gōtra-lutāya chakrē*

Dr Fleet was inclined to infer from this statement that Kṛishnarāja forcibly replaced his nephew Dantidurga. The wording of verse 9 of Kṛishnarāja's own grant, however, would lead us to believe that the relative whom he had to fight was somebody else, who claimed the throne after Dantidurga's death

1 Ind Ant Vol XII p 162 and Bom Gaz. p 391

(v. 9) After he, the Vallabharāja, had gone to heaven, Kṛṣṇnarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja, who did not oppress his subjects, became the lord of the earth "

This rendering is obtained by adopting the reading *akṛita-praja-bādah* of what ought to be *kṛita prajā-bādhā* referring to Vallabharāja and not of Kṛṣṇnarāja.

But from the Proddaṭṭuru inscription and the Baroda plates, it is certain that the kingdom which Kṛṣṇnarāja brought under his direct rule for the good of the family was in charge of another. This person is referred to by the term *vanśya* in the Baroda plates with the epithet *vimārggabhāja*, and *Vallabharāja* with the epithet *kṛitaprajā-bādhā* in the Talegaon plates, showing clearly the necessity for Kṛṣṇnarāj's interference and for bringing the country under his rule. From the fresh light obtained from the Proddaṭṭuru inscription, it becomes obvious that the royal person indicated by the terms *vanśya* or *Vallabha* is not to be identified with Dantidurga. And we have stated already that by *Vallabha* must be meant a Western Chālukya king. We may add here that he need not necessarily be Kirtivarman himself though that is not improbable. Again, the date of the Antroli-chiharoli record¹ (A D 757) falling between the latest known year of Dantidurga and the date of the earliest record of Kṛṣṇarāja I in Bhārat Itihāsa Maṇḍal viz. 753 A D, coupled with the ordinary connotation of the word *vanśya* would naturally suggest that Kakka II might be the person intended. But we see nothing to fit him to the description (*vimārgga-bhāja*) given about Kṛṣṇarāja's opponent (and there is no surety that there are no earlier dates for him than A D 757). *Vanśya* does mean 'a kinsman' but not one connected with Dantidurga or Kṛṣṇnarāja, being referred to by the epithet *Vallabharāja*. When a country is conquered, as in the case under reference the law of the land enjoin that the conqueror should instal on the throne of the vanquished country a member belonging to the ro;

1 J. Es B. A. S. Vol XVI p 109

family of the latter, dicating the terms to be abided by him, besides granting *parihāras* for the damages done during the war to the religious and administrative institutions in the conquered country. Vishnu-sūtra has the following on the subject —

“ Having conquered the country, let him (the conqueror) not abolish the *dharma* of that country (III, 42) A king having conquered the capital of the foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity (III, 47) Let him not exterpate the royal race (48) unless the royal race be of ignoble descent (49) ” On the same, Manu lays down —

Jitvā sampūjayāt dēvā brāhmanāmschaiva dhārmikān ।
Pradadyāt parihārāmscha khyāpayēd abhayānī cha ॥
Sarveshām tu viditvaishām samāsāna chikīrshitam ।
Sthāpayēttatra tad-*vams'ya*m kuryāchcha samayakriyām ॥
Pramānānī cha kurvīta tūshām dharmyānyathōditān ।

According to both the authorities, the one is installed on the throne — a member of the vanquished royal family — is called *vams'ya*, and it is this *vams'ya* established by Dantidurga that had to be uprooted by krishnarāja owing to this misbehaviour, meaning perhaps the non-observance of the terms of the treaty (*samaya-kriya*) or disturbing the peace of the people. Thus, not only is *vams'ya* of one record reconciled to the term *Vallabha* of the other records but it also shows that he must have been a member, distant though it be, of the Western Chālukya race.

We have already referred to the fact that this Vallabha was afflicting the subjects much. The same idea is also conveyed by the application of the epithet *kshata-prajā-bādha* to Krishnarāja who took over his kingdom and relieved the subjects from the oppression of that ruler. We think that *prajābādha* cannot have any reference to Dantidurga. The scheme of the *prasasti* writer, as could be seen from the way in which Dantidurga easily is described, was only to praise him and not to denounce him. And he could never have imagined the possibility of a mis-

application of the term in question to any other than Vallabha whom he had introduced in the preceding verse *Inter alia* the poet has shown the effect of the conquest of Dantidurga viz that he had brought under his parasol the whole earth from mountain to mountain and from sea to sea —

āśētōr-vipulāvali-lasal-lōl-ōrmmi-mālā- jalād- ā-prāiēya-kalamkit-āma'a-sīlā-jālāt tushār-āchalāt ā-pūrv-ā-para-vāri-rāsi-pulina prānta-prasiddh-āvadhīr ēnēyam jagatī sva-vikrama-balēna ēkāta-patrikritā In our opinion there is absolutely nothing in the composition of the *prasasti* writer to show that Dantidurga proved himself so intolerable that his paternal uncle should try to oust him and assume the reins of government We think it gratuitous to say that Dantidurga “seems to have ultimately made himself unpopular and to have been deposed in favour of his uncle Krishna I”, and that “Krishna I uprooted his relative (Dantidurga) who had resorted to evil ways and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family ”

That Dantidurga, after obtaining the kingdom of the Chālukyas, did reign long is assured by the statement ‘ Chālukya-Sindhu-mathan-ōdbhava lakshmīm sambabhāra chīram āma-kulaika kāntām ’

And how did he pass away ? Though other inscriptions are silent on this point, the Proddatūru inscription tells us that by the entreaties of the damsels of *svargalōka*, he went away to that region while he was yet young Here one might understand that he met with his death in a battlefield against his enemy, who might be the Vallabha Kirtivarman or a kinsman of his whom the Rāshtrakūta emperor had set up

That Krishnarāja, just like his predecessor Dantidurga had again to conquer the Chālukyas in battle and obtain their kingdom,—not that he became heir to this kingdom conquered by Dantidurga is very clearly expressed in the following verse —

Sa yam vīribhūta-ranīnganē tatah sa nirvyaṭkṣham Śubha-ranga-Vaibhah chakārsha Chāluka-kula-sriyam balād vilōk-

pāli-dhvaṇa-māla-bhūrinīm Akālav arshō hata-bhūpa-rājakō babhūva rāj irshir-aśēsha-punyaṅkṛit

Thus from what has been said above it will be seen that after the death of Dantidurga, there was no dispute about the succession of Kṛishnarāja in this case, the dispute about succession had been conceived by wrongly equating Vallabha with Dantidurga and making *ams'ya* a kinsman of the Rāshtrakūta family

The Proddatūru inscription does not say much about the rule or achievements of Kṛishnarāj I. From the statements of the Baroda plates and others which we have noticed viz that he removed the sufferings of the people under Vallabha and brought the country under *his own rule*, it may perhaps be inferred that he was already a ruler when he did it. It is not unlikely that while a branch of the family was ruling over the conquered portion, another branch of it was in charge of the more northern part of the dominions. The earliest inscription of his own time is what is published in the Bharat Itihasa Somsodhak Mandal dated in A D 758. In the Talegaon plates he is said to have led an expedition against the Western Gangas and to have had his camp at Mannanagar on March 23 of A D 768.

The following verse gives us to know that Kāñchi was subject to Kṛishna I¹ —

Nityam sū prakṛiti-sthir-ātata chalā varnn ōjvalā suprajā-
ślāghyā sad-vishay-ōpabhōga-subhagā bhāvair bhriśam
bhūshitā ;

visrabdham kataka-prasādhita-tanur viśvambharā-bhōginā
bhuktā ycna chiram niṣēva vanitā-Kāñchī gun-ālankṛitā ॥

As it is said of his son Gōvinda that he was a very Mandara mountain in churning the ocean of battle and an axe to the multitude of wicked foes², it is certain that he rendered invaluable

1 Ep Ind. Vol XIII. p 280, v 16

2 Ibid p 282.

able aid to his father in the latter's military operations That Krishna I had hard fights with the Western Chālukyas is let known to us in many inscriptions The Cambay plates tell us that he destroyed the vast race of the Chālukyas¹ —

Tasy-ādyam nrīpatēh pītrivya dayī śrī-vīrasimhāsanam mērōh
śringamī vādhiruhya ravivach chhri-Krishnarāja statah dhvast
ōrikts Chalukya-vamśa-timīrah prithivī bhritām mastakē nya
sth-ānghrih sakalam jagat pravritatais tējōbhīr ākrantavān ॥

The Wani grant of A D 807 says that Krishna I quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chālukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others,² and the Baroda grant adds that he transformed into a deer : e put to flight the great boar : e the Chālukyas, which was seized with an itching for battle and which kindled with the warmth of bravery attacked him Wani and Rādhānpūr plates speak of Krishna I “ as having with the aid of gods in the form of counsellors or followers, churned the ocean of the Chālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed — an ocean that was inaccessible to others — and drawn out from it the Lakamī ” of paramount sovereignty The statement that Krishna drew out Lakshmi of paramount sovereignty by churning the ocean of the Chālukyas will be seen to agree well with the description in the Proddatūru inscription, Vēśyēva etc Others describe him as extending his sovereignty by conquering a certain Rāhappa and obtained supreme sovereignty resplendent with numerous *pālādhvaja* banners³ We do not countenance the view that the credit of overthrowing the W Chālukyas really belonged to Dantidurga and that it was foisted by later charter writers on Krishna I

Finally, before proceeding, a word may be said about Rāhappa by defeating whom Krishna I is said to have obtained

1 *Ibid* Vol VII, p 37, v 8

2 *Ind Ant.* Vol XI p 160

3 *Bom Gaz* p 391

the dignity of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara and about whose identity there is so much doubt and difficulty. The verse which describes the achievement runs thus —

Rāhappam ātma-bhuja-jāta-balāvalāpam ājau vijitya nīsitāsi-
latā prahārah |

Pālidhvajāval-subhām acbircna yō hi Rājādhirāja-paramēś-
varatām tatāna ||

I would only request you to compare this verse with the one quoted above (*śaṣṭhamvarī-bhūta-ranāṅgane* etc.) Without any comment it will be admitted that what is expressed in the verse about Rāhappa by the words "Rāhappam ājau vijitya-Pālidhva-jāval-subhām Rājādhirāja-Paramēś'varatām tatāna" is conveyed in the other verse by "*Ranāṅganātala-bhūpa-rājako Pālidhvaja-mīla-bhārinīm Chālukya-kulas'riyam chakarsha*" This establishes the identity of Rāhappa with the king or chief of the Western Chālukya country at the time of Kṛṣṇa I. That the *Pālidhvaja* was the supreme dignity of the Chālukyas is expressed in numerous copper-plates of the Western Chālukyas in the "*Pālidhvajādī samastā Pārama-is'varyya chihṇasya*" and "*sakala-pāramais'varyya-uyakti hīti-pālidhvajādy-ujjvala prājya-rājyō*" *Pālidhvajā* was the *chihṇ* of supreme sovereignty of the Western Chālukyas.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that though the Western Chālukyas had been defeated by Dantidurga, the members belonging to the family continued to exist with regal powers and the *insignia* of royalty and that they did not fail to seize opportunities that afforded themselves, to offer resistance to the rulers of the newly set up kingdom and to try to assert their independence again and again. This will be more evident in the sequel. Here, perhaps, it will be enough to say that the limited territory of the supplanted Western Chālukyas was closely under the watch of, and contiguous to that part of the Rāshtrakūṭa country which was under the charge of the younger branch of the family and which seems to have consisted of northern and western portions of the dominion bordering on Gujerat. We

have shown that the kings of the Western Chālukyas continued to be called by the ancient titular designation of Vallabha and their banner was still *Pāḍdhvaja*. The larger portion of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion in the South consisting of the eastern and southern divisions, touching the borders of Vēṅgi, Pallava, Bāna and Western Ganga territories, was under the rule of the older branch. To this main line the other branch was more or less subordinate. This kind of apportionment may be supposed to have been made before the demise of Dantidurga and Krishna rāja, the father's younger brother of Dantidurga, might well be the first king of the branch and held the position as ruler before he subjugated the Western Chālukyas and became the ruler of that country sometime after Dantidurga. The division was perhaps necessitated by the new extension of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion when Dantidurga's predecessors extended their territory and Dantidurga conquered the Western Chālukya country, and particularly deprived the Chālukya king of his power. The Rāshtrakūṭas could not have been unaware of the fact that they will not be left in undisputed possession of the new acquisition by the surrounding powers : e the Western Chālukyas, Pallavas, Bānas and Western Gangas. The division is quite akin to and might have been copied from the Chālukyas themselves. A later adoption of the procedure may be found among the Chōlas. Rājendra Chōla I is said to have left the Pāndya country which he conquered under a viceroy who was of the royal line of the Chōlas.

Gōvinda II and Dhruva

That Gōvinda II was a valorous prince and proved himself useful to his father in the wars undertaken by him is well borne out by the description given of him both in the record of Krishna I and in the Alas plates issued while Gōvinda was a *Yuvarāja*. That his succession must have been determined by his father is certain by the investiture of the title *yuvarāja*. The Proddatūru inscription furnishes useful information as regards Gōvinda II

which serves to remove some of the misconceptions entertained previously regarding his rule and the attitude of his younger brother towards him. In the first place it does not tell us that his succession was at all disputed the following is the verse ¹ that speaks of Gōvinda II —

Tasmād-abhūt sūnur udāra-kīrttiḥ Prabhūtavarshō bhuvam
āśasāda yat-sēnān-īndra-mada-mardhanāt Gāṅgō yō Yāmu-
nivad vibhātī ||

From this, we learn that he came quite regularly after his father and ruled the dominion (*bhuvam āśasāda*) This statement of the Proddatūru inscription clearly proves the incorrectness of the inference that “ the successor of Kṛṣṇa I was his younger son Dhruva and that Gōvinda II had no real part in the succession at all ² ” Not only did Gōvinda II succeed his father Kṛṣṇa I and rule the kingdom, but that during his rule,— short as it was,— he smashed a certain foe. The result of the action was that it made the Ganga appear as Yamunā which in plain language perhaps means that he inflicted a signal defeat on the Ganga king. Ganga Yamunā figure among the insignia of royalty of the Chālukyas. The Baroda plates state that Gōvinda III “ after taking away simultaneously from his enemy the rivers Ganga and Yamunā, coming through their waves, attained to the best and highest rank, by means of the display of the actual signs of these rivers ³ ”

The Proddatūru inscription then proceeds to tell us, in verse 8, which runs thus, how Dhruva became king —

Ratipatir-uru-bhāvē darśanāt sundarīnām surata dhattē
tatra bhūpē-nujasya | Dhruva itī nripatitvē mantribhis-ch
ābhishīktē Nirupama itī bhūmau ma budhō-pi

The Deoli and Karhad plates say that Gōvinda himself gave over the administration to his younger brother Dhruva as he was

¹ v 7

² Ep Ind Vol VII p 230

³ Ind Ant Vol XII p 159, text lines, 22-3

excessively indulging in sensual pleasures ¹ This is very important as it settles at once that there was no one placed over the Rāshtrakūta kingdom between Gōvinda II and Dhruva there is absolutely no room at all for thinking that the elder was overthrown or ousted by the younger The statement of the Proddatūru inscription, it is needless to say, only confirms the report made in the copper plates that "sensual pleasures made Gōvinda careless of his kingdom, and that he entrusted fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, allowed his position as sovereign to become loose ²" This willing resignation of kingly powers by Gōvinda, we are disposed to think, must have been made in the best interest of government and of the family, so that in the indulgence of sensual pleasures he might not be hampered by any care of the State and no blame on that score might also be thrown on him Dr Buhler's holding³ that Gōvinda II was dethroned by his younger brother Dhruva receives no support Some plates employ the phrase '*Jyēsthōllānghana*' with reference to Dhruva, and some others omit to mention Gōvinda II while giving the genealogy From these Dr Fleet inferred a complete supercession of Gōvinda The same authority adds that Dhruva made an attempt to secure the succession to himself, and this, he says, is shown by a statement in the Paithan grant of A D 796, which, according to him, means that he called to his assistance even the hostile kings of Mālhwā, Kāñchi and Vēñgi and of the Ganga country ⁴ We shall refer to the real statement in the Paithan grant later But here it may be noted that on the face of the express statement that Gōvinda

1 Ep Ind Vol IV p 278 ff

2 Gōvindarāja itī tasya babhūva nāmni sūnussa bhāga bhara bhaṅgura
rājya chintah |

Ātmānuj Nirupama vinivṛtya samyak sāmrajyam āvara padama s'ithili
chakura

Ep Ind Vol V p 193 also Karhad plates *Ibid* Vol IV p 298

3 Ind Ant Vol VI p 62

4 Ben Gil Vol I part II, p 393

himself gave over the kingdom to Dhruva, we are precluded from attributing to the word *ullanghana* any more sense than the transgression of (the usual) order which the action of Gōvinda certainly involved. The gift itself speaks to the perfect good feeling that must have existed between the brothers. The gift was followed by the anointment of Dhruva as sovereign by the ministers (*mantribhir-abhiśhiktā*) Thus according to the account of the plates the succession of Dhruva was not disputed and there was no room for any dispute. It is plain also that there was no hostility between the two brothers. Under the circumstances we are made to understand that there were two anointed kings at the time of which we are speaking, in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. One *de jure* anointed by Kṛishna I and the other *de facto* anointed by the ministers without bearing any ill-will. The Daulatabad inscription tells us how Dhruva came to bear the burden of the kingdom that was actually placed under another,—another here meaning Gōvinda II,—with perfect devotion to the elder and how it was abandoned (by his brother king who was given up to sensual pleasures) The verse under reference is¹ —

Tasyānujō Nirupamas tam udīrṇam ikshya tyaktam nrīpair api
 nayēna vilupyamānam | rājyam babhāra guru-bhaktivatō-
 anya-samstham mābhūt kil ānvaya-parichyutir atra laksh-
 myāḥ ||

In the interpretation of this verse some differences exist and we note two renderings below —

Dr D R Bhandarkar has " His younger brother was Nirūpama, who, perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority, placed (in the hands of) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family " (Ep Ind Vol XXII p.

1 Verses 18 to 20 occur in the Jethwai and Bhor museum plates with the same numbers verses 21 and 22 occur in the Bhor museum and Paithan inscriptions.

103) Dr Altekar remarking on this verse has " The Daulatabad plates describe how Gōvinda had to be deposed by Dhruva in the interest of the family, as he had entrusted the administration to some stranger and was being deserted by the feudatories " (p 49 n) The use of the word *anya-samstham* in the above has led to the conjecture that Gōvinda II set up one that was not of the family, to rule over the Rāshtrakūta kingdom and that Dhruva had to wrest it from him The verse only tells us that Dhruva bore the burden of the kingdom that was placed in the hands of another, actuated by the thought that the country should not be lost to the family *Anyasamstham* has reference to Gōvinda who, as we know, was anointed to the kingdom by his father and not to any stranger The Karhad and the Proddatūru records remove all possible doubts by expressly saying that the kingdom, which was ruled by Gōvinda II, was bestowed by him on his younger brother , and the Paithan plates and one of the Bhor museum records affirm that Dhruva's mind remained unchanged towards his brother and that he gave him gold and ornaments Dhruva, like his predecessors, had to wage a war with Vallabha which he did and captured his adversary's banner called *pālādhwaja* Among other achievements, Dhruva is said to have imprisoned a Ganga king and taken elephants from a Pallava king As the verses have led to series of inferences resulting in the establishment of inveterate hatred between the brothers Gōvinda II and Dhruva and the consequent actions and counter-actions, we may go through them here

Verse 17 states that Krishnarāja went to the world of gods

Verse 18 speaks of his eldest son Gōvinda II and of his valour, and states that by him the king styled Vallabha was conquered in battle

Verse 19 speaks in general terms of Gōvinda's younger brother Dhruva and states that by his prowess the entire circle of enemies had been calmed down

Verse 20 which may be regarded as a character sketch of Dhruva's rule, says that there was perfect contentment in the world when the kingdom came under this good lord the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṣa family, who was truthful, self-controlled, and was a storehouse of good qualities and steady in his devotion to truth and all the people right up to the end of the ocean pursued the path of the *dharma*

Verse 21 specifies the hostile kings : i.e. the lords of Kāñchi, the princes of Ganga and Vṅgi, the lords of Mālavā, and Prāchyā whom he (Dhruva not Gōvinda) brought home and states that even then : i.e. when he was in the height of power, he kept his mind unchanged towards his brother and bestowed on him ornaments of gems and gold

Verse 22, the last verse, states that seeing that Vallabha could not be reconciled by any of the (three) reconciliatory measures adopted, Dhruva had to adopt the fourth expedient of war against him and to defeat him By so doing he obtained the permanent sovereignty of *Paramēś'varatvam* decorated with the *Pāṇidhvaja*

On the import of the last two verses Dr D R Bhandarkar notes in Ep Ind Vol XXII p 103 f, that 'the Paithan plates furnish in two stanzas the following " Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were (such as) the ruler of Mālavā and so forth, joined by the lord of Kāñchi, the Ganga and the prince of Vṅgi, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother Thereafter, when even after conciliation and other remedies, Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja) the great ruler speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pāṇidhvaja* " In foot note 4 on page 178 of the same volume, the editor of the Epigraphia writes ' This verse (22) may be translated as follows —

“ When the Vallabha (1 e Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*mahēnō-vibhuh* 1 e Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and, therefore, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of *pālīdhvaja* glittering in the East, North, West and the South ”

In this last mentioned rendering of verse 22 which seems to be perfect, I would only question the equation of Vallabha with Gōvinda II, for there is no warrant for it Vallabha here, as in the case of the verse describing Krishnarāja I's conquest, refers to the Western Chālukya ruler to whom alone the *Pālīdhvaja* banner is appropriate, as distinctly borne out by numerous references For verse 21 I adopt the translation of Dr D R Bhandarkar omitting the equation of Gōvindarāja for the pronoun ‘ he ’ which clearly refers to Dhruva The whole verse describes Dhruva's victory over the several kings mentioned, and states at the end that he did not alter his regard for his brother, even in the height of his glory That Dhruva had conquered the Western Ganga and Pallava kings is clearly conveyed also in the following verse occurring in the Jethwai plates in place of verse 21, just quoted from the Paithan plates —

yōsau prasādhita-jagatrayasāra-durggō Gangaugha-santati
nirōdha-vivṛiddha kīrttiḥ ।

Ātmikrit ōnnata-Vṛishāṅka vibhūtīr-uchchair-vyaktam tatāna
Paramēśvaratām-ih aikah ॥

As for the verse 22, we may safely take the rendering of the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica, here again, omitting the equation of Vallabha with Gōvinda That the *Pālīdhvaja* banner belonged to the enemy of the Rāshtrakūta and not to the Rāshtrakūta king had been made evident from numerous references in the Western Chālukya and Rāshtrakūta records The following is the one more as such (v 25 f which speaks of Gōvinda IV) —

Yad-adhī dig-vijayāvasarē satī prasabha sambhrama-bhāvan
 aṣṭva bhūh Sapadī nrityatī pālī mahādhvaj-ōchchhṛta-
 karanga-kunātha-vivarjītā

which had been translated by Dr D R Bhandarkar thus —

“ On the occasion of the conquest of the quarters, the Earth, with uplifted hands (consisting of) mighty *pālīdhvaja* and abandoning other kings, forthwith quivers, as if by the causing of a violent bustle (as a woman, when freed from an evil lord dances with uplifted hands as if through intense joyous excitement” Here *Pālīdhvaja* is clearly one borne by the enemy king and wrested from him The simile makes it plain

Thus, there is nothing in this account of Dhruva and his brother to hint any kind of enmity between them, much less of any revolutionary motives All the wrong notions have arisen by equating Vallabha with Gōvinda II Though the epithet Vallabha itself is sufficient to stamp the enemy of Dhruva as a Western Chālukya, there is the additional clinching proof afforded in the *pālīdhvaja* banner which he is said to have had

When once the real position is conceived that Gōvinda II was actually at the head of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom for a few years after the demise of Kṛishnarāja I, being anointed thereto by his father, as the title *yuvārāja* assumed by him even when his father was alive shows, his rule being confirmed by the statement in the Proddatūru inscription, and that Gōvinda, in his turn, gave over the management of the kingdom to his younger brother Dhruva, himself not ceasing to exist or being divested of the authority once vested with him, and that Dhruva, a *dhārmika* king, with perfect good regard for his elder brother, accepted the charge that was entrusted to him, not with any greed for power or of selfish gain, but purely out of the thought of saving the kingdom from becoming a prey to the enemy and to retain it for the family of the Rāshtrakūtas, and was regularly anointed as (an additional) king by the ministers, there will be nothing surprising or untoward if we find that some of the records of the

time are dated in the reign of or issued under the orders of either of the two kings. Thus, the Pimpāri plates issued in S'aka 697 recognising Dhruva as sovereign, and the Dhūlia grant of Karkarāja, son of Dhruva, issued in the reign of and under the orders of Gōvinda II some years later *i. e.* in S'aka 701, are in perfect order. There is nothing to stamp either of them as spurious on consideration of their dates. We need not go about finding any special arguments to say why the documents were issued in the reign of the respective king whose name they contain.

That Gōvinda II was addicted to sensual pleasures to the extent of neglecting the kingdom that was placed in his charge is well proclaimed in the Rāsntrakūta records. That other kings must have abandoned or shunned him, there is no doubt. But that he was ever ousted by his own younger brother Dhruva, is an assumption completely lacking in authority and incapable of being justly maintained. Gōvinda was a proved soldier. While he was yet an heir-apparent, he defeated the lord of Vīngi. And during the short period when he held the reins of government, he conducted a successful war against one called Vallabha. Passion outweighing kingly authority, he deliberately chose to entrust the kingdom to his younger brother, who was much devoted to him and was firmly established in *dharma*. There was no fear of his ever being imposed upon. He could not have been unconscious of the fact that his position would become loose by the action he did. In what he had done, it must be said that he had displayed sound judgement. And there is no doubt that he must have been quite conscious of his own strength and the strength of his younger brother. The safety of the kingdom under the circumstances lay only in the step which he had bold,

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ments of rubies and quantities of gold made by Dhruva to Gōvinda II. It is perhaps enough to say that the estrangement of feeling between Gōvinda and Dhruva is the result of construing the term *an' san sīhan* as meaning 'a stranger' and the application of the term Vallabha to Gōvinda II. The use of the term *Jyoti' rāj' angāna* has also something to do with it.

If Dantidurga had the credit of bringing the Rāshtrakūta family to the forefront by inflicting a signal defeat on the army of the W Chālukyas which had the unique reputation of having overcome all the great powers, and perhaps also sacrificed his life on the field of battle, and if kṛishna I had laid the family on a firm basis firstly by pursuing the fight and killing the Chālukyan foe, thus removing the nominee who was straying away from the path and was oppressing the subjects, and lastly with the aid of his hero-son Gōvinda, reduced the E Chālukya, Pallava, W Ganga and others, Dhruva, the *ahārmic* king, seizing the opportunity wisely afforded by his elder brother, proved to the world that the trust reposed on him was well deserved, by striking terror in the minds of all the neighbouring powers by his heroic deed of leading to the capital almost all the hostile kings, and lifted up the glory of the family, and laid well the foundation of its greatness at no distant date. This is what we have been able to gather so far from the documentary evidences available to us¹. We do not find any disputed succession internecine war or revolution. Firmly established in righteousness, he gave the greatest satisfaction to the world or subjects by following the ancient precepts, being a fearless and active military leader, he won laurels in several fields with the aid of his powerful cavalry force, whose valour is acknowledged both in the Rāshtrakūta and Ganga records. Being sagacious and far-sighted, he employed his valiant sons and feudatories in the government of the conquered countries all round, to prevent insurrections, and raised one of them as *yuvārāja*, while yet he was alive, so that no internal strife might disfigure the history of the family, though

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 125 ff.

perhaps, modesty and regard for the feelings of the senior and the confidence of his strength to meet any future impediment that might come in the way of getting his throne made the prince express satisfaction at the position he was holding directly under the sovereign, his father Vatsa, Kōśala, Mālva, Gaṇḍa Pallava, W Ganga as well as the Eastern and western Chāṭukyas were made to yield submission to Dhruva. If one of the kings should be called the great, it will be hard to decide : Dhruva is entitled to it or his son.

Gōvinda III seems to have conducted several wars against the Pallavas of Kāñchi. The first of these took place some time before A. D. 804 when, being encamped at Rāmāsvatīrtha on his return from Kāñchi, he renewed a grant made by Kīrtivarman II. The Pallava opponent is here stated to be Dantiga : i. e. Dantivarman (A. D. 761-812). The Pallavas did not quietly bear the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke. Gōvinda III's Raṅganpur plates dated in A. D. 808, distinctly speak of a second invasion against the Pallavas. It is stated here —

“ Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śrībhuvanam, Gōvinda III went from there with his forces to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and staying there, strange to say even by doing it again, completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands.” This verse clearly refers to two distinct invasions by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III against the Pallavas, the earlier one of which as pointed out already, took place prior to A. D. 804. The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa I referring to Gōvinda III states that “ having fettered the people of Kēraḷa, Mālva and Gauda, and together with the Gūjjaras those who dwelt in the hill-forest of Chitrakūṭa and the lords of Kāñchi, he became known as Kīrtirājyaṇa¹.” From the use of the plural *Kīrtirājyaṇa* in this verse, it looks as if that Gōvinda III conquered not only Dantivarman, as reported

in the British Museum and Radhanpur plates, dated in A D 804 and 808, but also his successor Tellārṇṇinda Nandivarman III (A D 812-844), who aided him in crowning Śivamāra Saigotta¹. Thus, Gōvinda III seems to have thrice defeated the Pallavas, the last being in about A D 812-3.

When speaking of the combined reigns of Gōvinda II and Dhruva his younger brother, we noticed the successful wars waged by Dhruva against the hostile kings of Kāñchi, Ganga, Vēngi, Mālava, and the highly irreconcilable Vallabha and the humiliation caused to them. Besides being defeated, one was put in fetters, another was forced to bow down before the conqueror, a third was driven into the desert, the fourth had his state umbrella of sovereignty destroyed and the fifth was deprived of his flags. All these proud and independent kings cannot be expected to have put up for any length of time with the insults that had been flung at them. It must be mainly as a result of these actions of Gōvinda II and Dhruva, that Gōvinda III had, almost at the commencement of his reign, to face the combined action of a confederacy of chiefs, who, it is believed, were apparently led by a person named Stambha². Here we shall trace the events which brought the Rāshtrakūtas in touch with the Pallavas and the Pāndyas.

In the early part of this paper, we have shown how the various powers of South India stood at the time of the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas and stated also the attitude of these powers among themselves. With one of these : e the Western Chālukyas, whom the Rāshtrakūtas had overthrown and whose territory of seven and a half lakshas they had practically brought under subjection placing nominally a *vamśya* on the throne, the members of the Rāshtrakūta family had to be ever, after fighting. It will not be right to assume that the Western Chālukyas had

1 *Ibid* Vol V p

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol V p 150, *Ibid*, Vol, VI, pp 62 & 70, Vol. IX, p 161, and *Bom Gaz.* p 395

vanished after Dantidurga or his successor had defeated them. On the other hand, there are clear evidences to show that they continued to exist, and, finally getting the better of the adversary, recovered the territory which they had originally lost. These descendants of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmī are referred to in the Rāshtrakūta records of successive generations as Vallabha, as having the boar for their emblem, as having the *phalidhvaṇa* banner, etc. Thus far, we have shown that every king of the Rāshtrakūta line had his share of fight with the Western Chālukyas. The next power with which the new conquerors had naturally to contend in their southern abode was the Pallava whose allies were the Bānas and Gangas. Every one of the Rāshtrakūta kings from Dantidurga to Gōvinda III, claims to have over-thrown the Pallavas. It is significant that there is not a corresponding claim on the other side. Had success attended the Pallavas in any of their encounters with the Rāshtrakūtas, we could reasonably expect the fact to be mentioned in their eulogies. The omission can only indicate that the Pallavas fared ill. To visualise the contemporaneity of the Pallavas, Rāshtrakūta, W. Ganga and Pāṇḍya rulers we give a table below. From it, it will be seen that the latter part of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A. D. 696-761) synchronised with the reign of Dantidurga and the early years of Kṛṣṇnarāja I, and that the single long reign of the Pallava Dantivarman (A. D. 761-812) covered the rest of the reign of Kṛṣṇnarāja, the combined rule of Gōvinda II and his younger brother Dhruva Dhārāvarsha as well as the reign of Gōvinda III. It must have been with the Pallava Dantivarman that the four Rāshtrakūta kings mentioned above must have fought. Dantivarman must have been taken over by the victorious Dhruva to his capital. It has been shown above that Gōvinda III defeated Dantivarman at least twice and that the privilege exercised by the early Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman viz. the crowning of the Western Ganga king, was now jointly exercised by Nandivarman III and Gōvinda III,

in fastening the tillet of royalty on 'Śivamāra II Śaigottā, who had not for long been captured and put in prison by Dhārāvarsha-Dhruva, about which we shall speak presently Gōvinda III's reign ended soon after the last noticed event. The constant inroads into the Pallava dominion by the above named four Rāshtrakūta kings during the reign of the Pallava Dantivarman must, no doubt, have considerably weakened the latter's power, which, at the end of that king's rule, was over-run by the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Varaguna Mahārāja I, who ascended the throne in A D 811 pushed their way as far north as Arasūr on the north bank of the Pennār river and made Nandivarman III (A D 812-844) acknowledge the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas. The existence of the inscriptions of Varaguna-Mahārāja at Kumbakōnam, Tiruvīśālūr, Aḍuturai, Tillaisthānam and Lālgudi proves the reality of his claim and the last epigraph establishes his suzerainty over Nandivarman III the victor of Tellāru.

We may now notice the conflict of the Rāshtrakūṭas with the Western Gangas as it is one requiring some light. The conflict seems to have commenced as early as A D 786 when, according to the Talegaon plates, Kṛṣṇa I had pitched his camp at Manne on the occasion of his victorious expedition against the Gangas. The Western Ganga king at the time was Śrīpurusha. This was followed by other invasions in the subsequent reigns of Dhruva and Gōvinda III. We shall start with a statement made in the Manne grant. It tells us that the Western Gaṅga king "*Śivamāra II made himself famous by his victories over the armies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas and the Haihayas, when they were encamped at a village named Mudukundūr and that he defeated the countless cavalry of Dhruva which had over-run the whole earth*." This statement cannot be a mere boast but a simple record of fact, admitting in a way, the superiority of the enemy. From the admission it should be inferred that Dhruva had gained clear advantages over the Gangas, and that the cause of action for Śivamāra's fight with the Rāshtrakūṭas arose

therefrom The previous action, as elsewhere stated, was to the effect that the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna's son Dhruva-Dhāravarsha- Nirupama seized and imprisoned the Ganga king of the Chēra country and that his son Ranāvalōka Kambaya was made the ruler of Gangavādi 96,000 The Ganga king at the time must have been the same Śrīpurusha-Muttarāsa against whom Krishna I led an expedition and the prince of the family of the Gangas ' that was ruling over the Chēra country ' whom Dhruva is said to have detained in custody, must have been a provincial governor connected with the Ganga family and not Śivamāra himself The Manne grant seems to admit the defeat inflicted by Dhruva on Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and for detaining in custody one of the Ganga princes, and for retrieving the losses previously sustained, Śivamāra, when he became king, fought with Dhruva and gained a victory Subsequent to this, there must have been another conflict between the two kings in which Śivamāra should have met with a reverse On this occasion, which may be placed about the end of the rule of Dhruva, Śivamāra must have been captured and put in the Rāshtrakūta prison, for it is distinctly stated that as soon as Gōvinda III came to the throne, he set Śivamāra at liberty We have to state here the view taken of the statement of the Manne grant cited above It is as follows —

“Śivamāra II may very well have been entrusted with the command in some war between his father and Dhruva And we may suppose that during the campaign, he (Saigotta) was eventually defeated, captured and imprisoned by Dhruva, and that on Muttarāsa's death, he was liberated by Gōvinda III, in order to succede to the leadership of the Gangas, on which occasion, the Rāshtrakūta king would have very likely, crowned him,— as the spurious Manne grant asserts,— with some feudatory crown The event may be placed about A D 805 The same passages in the Rāshtrakūta records tell us that, after no long time, Gōvinda III found it necessary to conquer the Ganga, who through excess of pride stood in opposition to him and to put him in

fetters, again in A D 810. And it was doubtless this second imprisonment of Śivamāra II that let in his younger brother Ranavikrama to the Western Ganga succession."

For chronological purposes, Śrīpurusha's reign is one of the land-marks in the history of the Western Gangas. His initial year is, beyond question, fixed by the two charters, the Jawālī and Nāgamangala plates, the former combining the 25th year of reign with Śaka 672 (A D 750) and the latter coupling the 50th year with Śaka 696 (A D 776). His latest year is furnished in the Hukūr lithic record dated in Śaka 710 (A D 788) which must have been his 52nd year of reign. There is nothing to indicate at present, that his reign extended beyond A D 788. Thus, there is warrant for holding that when the Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa I (A D 756-775) led an expedition against the Western Ganga territory and was encamped at the city of Manne in A D 768, the king of the latter country was Śrīpurusha (A D 725-788), and that he was also the king against whom Dhruva (A D 775-794) directed his arms. Almost all the records of Dhruva's reign refer to his success over the Western Gangas.

Śrīpurusha was succeeded by his eldest son Śivamāra II Śaigotta in circa A D 788, and we have noted his claim to have become famous by defeating the cavalry of Dhruva, which is expressly said to have overcome the whole earth. It seems certain that Dhruva met with some reverses at the end of his reign, though this loss was soon retrieved by himself by taking Śivamāra captive. On this occasion, it is likely that Śivamāra entrusted the kingdom to Vijayāditya his younger brother. We have the authority of inscriptions to say that Vijayāditya received the Ganga kingdom from his elder brother as a trust, as did Bharata from Rāma. After some time, when Gōvinda III became king, Śivamāra II was set at liberty and it is said that, after no long time Gōvinda III, found it necessary to reconquer the Ganga, who through excess of pride, stood in opposition to him, and to put him in fetters again. How Śivamāra II came to be released is not stated. If we are allowed to make a conjecture, it may be that it was at the

instance of the Pallava king Dantivarman, who, by reason of his being introduced in the Bāhūr plates as a lineal descendant of the Pallavas and with Western Ganga ancestry, might be said to have had a Western Ganga princess for his mother. The Vēlūrpālayam plates tell us that Dantivarman's mother was Rēvā, and the description given of her union with Nandivarman Pallavamala viz

Tasy āmbū rāsēr iva vāhininām nāthasya nānā guna-rathna dhāmnah ।

Dhīrasya bhūbhrit-Varalabdha-janmā Rēvēva Rēvā mahishi babhūva ॥

is plainly suggestive of it. Besides, Nandivarman III's mother Aggalanenmadī being a Kadamba princess, and Nripatunga's mother Sankhā being a Rāshtrakūṭa, Ganga ancestry is precluded for these two Pallava kings, who are the only other kings that figure in the genealogical list given in the Bāhūr plates. That the Pallavas were the overlords of the Western Gangas is known to us from numerous early records, they were directly concerned also in their coronation. There is a fitness in the application of the term *vāhininām nātha* to the Pallavas who were hereditarily the overlords of the Gangas.

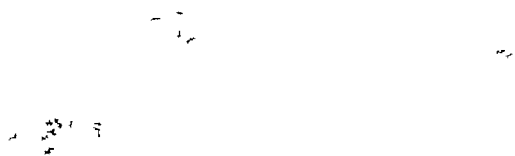
The first incarceration of Śivamāra II could not have lasted long. Of Vijayāditya it is recorded that he refrained from enjoying the earth, knowing it to be his elder brothers' wife. On release by Gōvinda III, Śivamāra II should have appointed his eldest son Māraśimha I as *yuvārāja* and it is not unlikely that he made his position stronger and perhaps, also defied the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭa viceroy in the Ganga territory. The fact that we have records issued by Māraśimha I as *Yuvārāja* dated in the years A D 797 and 799, show that during the second incarceration of Śivamāra he did not entrust the government of the country to Vijayāditya as he had done in the first instance. The second release in circa A D 813 of Śivamāra II might have been made at the instance of Nandivarman. Gōvinda III died shortly after, though Śivamāra II continued to hold the reins of government for about

four years; and Māraśmīha predeceased him. The new Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha (A.D. 813-836), it appears, was not favourably disposed towards Prithivīpati the sole remaining son of Śivamāra II. Dissensions in the Western Gaṅga family began to appear, and there are grounds for believing that they were backed up by the Rāshtrakūṭas who were friendly towards the younger branch i.e. the line of Vijayāditya. The members of the senior line i.e. of Śivamāra were open enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In preference to Prithivīpati I, the legitimate claimant to the Gaṅga throne, Pāṇamalla I was made to occupy it. On some pretext, Prithivīpati carried his arms against the Rāshtrakūṭas and defeated Amoghavarsha I. But finding it of no avail in remaining in the kingdom, he went over and joined the side of the Pallavas, who under Nandivarman III was previously instrumental in getting the final release and re-coronation of his father Śivamāra II, and became their feudatory. He served first under Nṛpatunga and then under his successor Aparājita.

Finally we have to say a word about certain statements made by Fleet, which antiquated as they are, are still being adopted by a few to suit their purpose. The statements appear in his article on the Śrāvana Beṅgōla epyrath of Māraśmīha II (Ep. Ind. Vol. V pages 151 ff.). At the time when he wrote, the kings represented in the Pārāṭr plates as Danṭivarman, Nandivarman and Nṛpatunga were believed to be of Western Gaṅga origin, owing to the mention of Vimala, Honganika and others, as having come in the family of the eponymous Pallava of the Bṛāradvāja-gōtra and before Danṭivarman. Dr. Hultzsch suggested it, and Dr. Fleet thought it safe to adopt this view. In the wake of Fleet others followed. And when the Manne grant stated of the Western Gaṅga Śivamāra II "that his forehead was adorned by a diadem (of royalty) placed there with their own hands, when they performed (his) anointment to the sovereignty, by the two ornaments of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Pallava lineages named Gōvīṇḍarāja and Nandivarman, who were (already) anointed on their foreheads". Dr. Fleet, who shared in the view of Dr. Hultzsch,

that Nandivarman of the Bāhūr plates was not a Pallava, was obliged to say (i) " that the Pallava Nandivarman mentioned in the Manne plates must be Nandivarman Pallavamalla, son of Hiranyavamman " and to add that " he (Pallavamalla) cannot have had anything to do with Śivamāra II at so late a time as the date of his succession on the death of Muttaraśa, (ii) and it seems that, mixed up with a real act of Gōvinda III, towards the second Śivamāra, the Manne grant has preserved an anachronistic reminiscence of a real act of Pallavamalla Nandivarman towards the first Śivamāra viz that on the downfall of the Western Chālukyas, he formally recognised Shivamāra and crowned him as the chief, more or less feudatory, of a powerful tribe on the borders of his own outlying province of Nolambavādi " Further, against the possibility of Nandivarman of the Manne grant being identified with Vijaya —Nandivikramavarman, son of Dantivarman, Fleet added in a note (f n 3 on p 158 P, (iii) " it does not at all seem probable, and if it were so, an anachronism in the other direction would be involved for Nandivarman, the son of Dantivarman, cannot be placed as early as A D 797, which is the pretended date of the Manne grant he cannot be placed before A D 804, which is the date that we have for Dantivarman " By the way, one more statement had also been made by Fleet and it is the following — (iv) " we may safely follow Dr Hultzsch in his inference that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śankhā wife of Nandivarman, was a daughter of Gōvinda's son and successor Nripatunga Amōghavarsha I (A D 814/5-877/8) after whom her son must have been partly named "

As regards the identification of Gōvindarāja, Fleet had no doubts and he said " he seems to be the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, whose reign began about A D 783/4 and ended in A D 814/5 " p 158) In fact he owns the fastening of the fillet of royalty on Śivamāra II by Gōvindarāja as " a real act of (the Rāshtrakūṭa) Gōvinda III " But he was of opinion, as already said, that mixed up with this, the Manne grant has



supposing that the grant actually made by Māraśimha when his father was in prison was issued after the liberation and recoronation of Śivamāra in A D 813, incorporating the events that had happened in the interval "

Indeed this is the sane view to take in the matter and I am sure it will be endorsed by all those that deal with inscriptions, and do not go about indiscriminately borrowing leaves from others that know how long some grants take to be put in copper plates and finally issued,— the Larger Leiden plates had taken the last eight years of the reign of Rājarāja I and some years of the reign of Rājendra Chōla I,— that care to verify the originals and have the courage of their convictions to express their findings without fear or favour There could be no doubt that Śivamāra II was a crowned monarch when he was first taken captive

The reign of Gōvinda III (A D 794-814) covered the last five years of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana IV and the first thirteen years of his successor Vijayāditya II One of the Eastern Chālukya grants says that Vijayāditya II fought 108 battles with the armies of the Rattas and Gangas, for twelve years, day and night and built 108 Siva temples called Narēndrēśvara after his surname ¹ In another grant he is called the destroyer of the party of the Southern Ganga and the builder of the temples of Narēndrēśvara ² A third is even more specific It states that " Vijayāditya II fought for twelve years with the generals of Vallabhendra and that having defeated his own younger brother Bhīma-Śālukki took possession of Vṅgī-mandala from him " ³ From these statements it is clear that there was a rival claimant to the Eastern Chālukya throne on the death of Vishnuvardhana IV in the person of Vijayāditya's younger

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- 1 Gaṅga Ratta balaihs sarddam dvīdāśīd ann ahar nīsam |
bhuj arjita balam khadga sahāyō naya vikramaih ||
Ashtottaram yudda satam yuddhv S'ambhōrmahālayān |
tat saukhyay āhar d viro Vijayāditya bhupatih || (S I I Vol I p 39)
 - 2 A R on Ep. for 1911, para 6, p 81 f
 - 3 *Ibid* p 81

brother and that he was backed up by the generals of a certain Vallabha, and that Vijayāditya had to fight as many as 108 battles not only against the armies of the Rattas and Southern Gangas but also against the generals of Vallabha who were supporting the claim of his younger brother. The generals of Vallabhēndra should have been supporting Bhīma-Śālukkī at the instance of the Rattas and Southern Ganga king. The Rāshtrakūṭa king at the time of the demise of the Eastern Chālukya Viśnuvardhana IV : c in A D 799, was Gōvinda III and he must have nominated to the Eastern Chālukya throne Bhīma-Śālukkī in preference to his elder brother Vijayāditya II, and to support his nominee he must have employed there some of his generals if by Vallabhēndra is meant the Rāshtrakūṭa king, and the generals of Vallabha whom his father had recently subdued. The forces of the Southern Ganga king, who, along with the armies of the Rāshtrakūṭas under Gōvinda III with whom the legitimate Vijayāditya II had to wage war to obtain his throne and kingdom, must be the W Ganga Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra II. Thus the policy adopted by Gōvinda III with regard to the subordinate W Ganga and Eastern Chālukya powers was the same. The Rāshtrakūṭa records tell us that Gōvinda III sent a letter to the Vēṅgī king, who, as soon as the messenger half uttered the command, longing for his own comfort, steadily, like a servant, without ceasing, did toil to construct the outer wall round his capital city. Here one cannot miss to notice that Bhīma-Śālukkī owed his position to the Rāshtrakūṭa and was bound to do his behests in order to win his favour and support. It is improbable that the proud victor of 108 battles would deign to cleanse the courtyard of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, whom he had worsted in numerous engagements. There are no indications that he ever reconciled himself with Gōvinda III.

Gōvinda III dying soon after Vijayāditya II was well established in Vēṅgī, the latter reigned over his dominion for nearly a quarter of a century without any troubles.

The period of rule covered by the reigns of Amōghavarsha and his descendants is not a bright one in the history of the Rāshtrakūtas. Amōghavarsha was only a boy of tender years when his father died. His accession is well fixed up to be A D 814-5¹ which falls not long after the latest known date² of Gōvinda III : c. A D 813, December 4. Amōghavarsha seems to have reigned for at least 63 years³.

One of the most important changes effected during the reign of Amōghavarsha I was the shifting of the seat of government to the newly founded city of Malkhēd. A city with all the requirements to be a capital cannot rise quickly. It seems to have been planned in the reign of Gōvinda III, and completed in Amōghavarsha's time. Growth of empires from small nuclei had always necessitated the founding of second capitals in more central localities wherefrom it could be easy to watch the counter movements of the new enemies at whose cost the empire had grown. The Pallavas, Western Chālukyas and Western Gangas who had been dealt severe blows by the predecessors of Gōvinda III having been in a state of constant revolt, and Gōvinda himself having had to make them acquiesce in the Rāshtrakūta overlordship, and further risings of a similar nature and coalition of the subdued powers being expected at any moment, might have prompted Gōvinda III to found the new city. Besides, the Rāshtrakūtas had now to meet a more formidable foe in the person of the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya II (A D 799-843), the son of Vishnuvardhana IV, who had suffered defeat at the hands of Gōvinda II in the reign of Krishna I and who was one among the hostile kings taken by Dhruva to the Rāshtrakūta country. All these must have strongly urged the necessity of having a city in a more central place and close to the Vēṅgi country, leave alone any ambition on his own part to acquire any fresh territory. The move in this direction must certainly have been taken to bring under complete subjection all the conquered powers and

1 K 75 and 76

2 K 67

3 K 80

to maintain the supremacy over them Gōvinda III started the work but it was given effect to, only in the reign of his successor Amōghavarsha I

When Amōghavarsha had come of age, he found that he had to raise the glory of his family which was sunk deep in the Chālukyan ocean We shall see how this came about The death in A D 814 of Gōvinda III leaving only a boy of tender years to succeed him,—which,—at that time required a very powerful ruler at the helm of government to keep under control proud and irreconcilable kings of different houses, who, as often as they were put down, rose up and showed their stubborn nature, and perfect unwillingness to bear the Rāshtrakūta yoke,—afforded a very nice opportunity, for subduing the enemies the like of which had never before occurred, to assert their independence Nay, had it not been for the previous losses and defeats and the dwindling of the resources of the enemies, one among them could very easily have caused the disruption of the new houses of the Rāshtrakūtas brought into eminence in the space of three or four generations The boy emperor was the ward of Karkka the senior member of the Gujerat line of the Rāshtrakūtas We can easily conceive the high responsibilities that Karkka had to shoulder Besides being the *de facto* ruler of the empire, he had to see that the boy was given proper education and training required of an emperor, that his own life as well as that of the prince under his charge was not endangered, and to meet or put down any risings of the subdued powers Under these circumstances the regent could not follow in the footsteps of the deceased emperor Gōvinda III or his predecessors by undertaking any new expeditions or invasions

Karkka's leaving Gujerat, vacating his throne for Gōvinda, and taking up the position of being the protector of the boy emperor, shows the oneness of feeling that existed between the members of the two branches of the Rāshtrakūta family that were holding Gujerat and Mālkhēd Both were intent on

retaining the advantages gained, and shared in the weal and woe of either. It will be unnatural and preposterous, if a son, grandson or other relative of Karkka raised his little finger against him or the case he espoused and thereby exhibited ingratitude of the worst type. Unless there is clear evidence, to show that anyone proved a traitor, we cannot be justified in inferring anything that will cast a slur on a family exhibiting the noblest of feelings. The high terms in which Karkka is spoken of in the grant of Gōvinda strongly bear testimony to the cordial relationship of the members. We have here to note how the opportunity was availed of by the subjugated powers viz the Western Gangas, Eastern Chālukyas, Western Chālukyas, Pallavas and others. We have noted how the Western Ganga Śivamāra II was finally released from the Rāshtrakūta prison, reinstalled on the throne by Gōvinda III, just prior to the latter's demise and how he alienated himself from the Rāshtrakūta overlord. We have also noted how the undaunted Eastern Chālukyā Vijayāditya II defied the power of the Rāshtrakutas and Western Gangas and wrested the Vengi kingdom from his mean younger brother who became a prey to the machinations of the enemy and put himself in war with his elder, backed up as he was by foreign arms, and how, by his indomitable strength he conducted a long war which forced the Rāshtrakūtas to found a great city close to the Vengi kingdom. He had thoroughly become independent of the Rāshtrakūta overlordship exercised during the days of his father Vishnuvardhana IV, and regained his kingdom ridding himself of his enemy. The almost independent position of the Pallava could be easily understood by Nandivarman taking an equal share with Gōvinda III in the second crowning of Śivamāra II. It remains now to say about the part played by the Vallabha by which term we have shown the members of the fallen house of the Western Chālukya were called in the inscriptions of Dantidurga, Karkka and Dhruva. We have indicated above that the kings of this house had entrenched themselves in the confines of the dominion of the

Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas And though they were not prominent in the days of Gōvinda III, they had caused enough trouble to his father Dhruva and did not cease to exist In the absence of Karkka from his home, acting as regent to the boy emperor, the hereditary Rāshtrakūṭa enemy Vallabha found again an opportunity to rush forth and fall upon his son Dhruva I Dhārāwarsha and killed him in the battlefield It would even appear that the Vallabha had taken possession of Dhruva's kingdom for a time, for it is said that Dhruva's son Akālavarsha Śubhatunga had to wrest his dominion from the enemy. Vallabha did not yield easily He offered war against Akālavarsha's son Dhruva II also Thus, three generations of kings of the Gujarat branch had been ceaselessly worsted in battle by the forces of the Vallabha these Gujarat kings were contemporaries of Amōghavarsha I It is true that Amōghavarsha used the title Vallabha, as did also many others But no tangible reasons could be seen in inscriptions to make us believe that he rose against his own Gujarat cousins under the guidance of one of whom he had been brought up If he, a peace loving religious minded man, should take up arms against the Gujarat house, and show his inveteracy for three generations, there must be very extraordinary grounds We see no such grounds

We may say here what gave room for the conception that the reign of Amōghavarsha I was disturbed by rebellions and internecine wars In a grant made in A D 826-7 by the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa chief Gōvinda the younger brother of Karkka, the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas is taken up to Gōvinda III and no reference of any kind is made in it to Amōghavarsha I The initial date of Amōghavarsha's reign being definitely known from his Sirūr and other inscriptions to have fallen in A D 814, the omission of his name in a grant falling in his reign and made by a Rashtrakūṭa feudatory, was considered serious Fleet's explanation of this was "that possibly, when the charter was issued, Gōvindarāja was in

rebellion against his sovereign " He followed up this remark and noted the fact that the charter gave to Gōvinda only the feudatory title of *Mahāsāmantādhīpati*, which he knew was somewhat an apparent contradiction Be that as it may, another satisfactory explanation is now made necessary At the time Fleet wrote, it was not known Amōghavarsha I was a mere boy when his father died His anointment as *yuvārāja* did not take place for aught we know This and his long reign extending to 63 or 64 years, of course counted from the date of demise of his father, are in agreement with what is now known about his age in A D 814 Though the regnal year is counted from this date, Amōghavarsha's actual coronation must have taken place only when he came of age All that the Kāvī grant of Gōvinda could tell us is that there was no overlord to be mentioned, Amōghavarsha I not having been crowned by that time that Gōvinda held only a feudatory position is correctly indicated by the title he bore, and there was no overlord to be mentioned in his grant We think there is no room for inferring that Gōvinda raised the standard of revolt against Amōghavarsha I He is seen satisfied with his position of *Mahāsāmantādhīpati* It is still a question when Karkka passed away, and when exactly Amōghavarsha's actual coronation took place

As the Baroda plates, dated A D 834-5, of Dhruva I, and the Bagūmra grant of Dhruva II, dated in A D 866-7, mention Amōghavarsha as sovereign, he must have assumed regal powers sometime before the first mentioned date From the omission in these plates of the name of Gōvinda, it had been inferred that Gōvinda was an usurper and a rebel If it is remembered that these plates belong to the kings of Karkka's line, the omission in them of Gōvinda, a member of the collateral branch, is quite natural He owed his position to Karkka, who in the interest of both the branches, set up Gōvinda in his place, and went to afford protection to Amōghavarsha Dhruva might not have come of age at the time I am unable to find motives for

rebellion of any kind so far as Gōvinda, Dhruva, Akālavarsha Subhatunga and Dhruva II are concerned, and there is no attempt on the part of the Gujerat Rāshtrakūṭas to subvert Karkka or Amōghavarsha I on the other hand they were keenly interested in the safety of the Mālkhed empire

The two plates further state that Karkka "vanquished the tributary Rāshtrakūṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army, and he speedily placed Amōghavarsha on his throne. Can it not be said that the voluntary promise only shows the loyalty of the subjects and chiefs to the throne and that it must have naturally come when Gōvinda III passed away suddenly leaving an un-anointed son of tender years to succeed him. And Karkka's presence might not have been liked by the proud chieftains of the State, he being only a feudatory. At any rate the wording does not warrant the inference that there was any rebellion against the boy emperor

When Amōghavarsha actually assumed regal powers, he found to his dismay that the empire reared up by his ancestors had disintegrated, the Western Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas having become almost independent, and the army of the Vallabha trying its best in the same direction. He at once directed his general Bankēya to reduce to subjection the Western Ganga. While this was so, the ceaseless fighting that was going on between Vallabha and the kings of the Gujerat branch assumed large proportions and Amōghavarsha I who was erstwhile a ward under one of the kings of the same branch, and who had the greatest interest in the Gujerat house could not remain a mere spectator

It is almost certain that this war which was being waged nearer home must have been a menace to his own dominion of Mālkhed. Of this fact he could not be unaware. When he found that his Gujerat cousins were not a match for the Vallabha, he

must have been friendly towards their erstwhile overlords the Pallavas. The establishment of the Chōla with the capital at Tanjore is an evident check on any further aggressions of the Pāndyas. Varaguna II did not continue to bear the Pallava yoke. Soon after the accession of Nripatunga's successor, Aparājita, he seems to have risen up in arms against the Pallava and advanced as far as Tiruppurambiyam in the Tanjore district where the Pallava king assisted by the Western Ganga ally Prithivīpati I, who was determined to secure victory to his overlord, attacked him and secured complete success. It was only marred by the death of Prithivīpati in the battlefield. The battle of Śrīpurambiyam may be placed somewhere about the last quarter of the ninth century A. D. perhaps just after the end of the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I and after the accession of his son and successor Kṛishnarāja II. Though the several invasions of the Pāndyas on the territory of the Pallavas directly affected the kings of the latter country and made them resist the tide of the former in order to save themselves from becoming a prey to the Pāndyas, the Rāshtrakūtas who had been similarly making endeavours to subdue the surrounding powers could not have remained as passive onlookers assuming a neutral attitude, for if the Pallavas had succumbed, the Pāndyas would have become a menace to their own kingdom in the south. They had already a fore-taste of the rising of some of the subdued powers.

In the first half of the ninth century A. D., events were marching with rapid strides for the determination of the suzerainty of the south. Just then the passing away of Gōvinda III, leaving the ship of State to drift in the boisterous ocean without a proper guiding hand, gave a set-back to the progress of the Rāshtrakūtas in that direction. Karkka and Bankēya, able in their own way, could not save the empire from being foundered and disintegrated. As narrated above, the Rāshtrakūta hold on the Eastern Chālukyas, Western Gangas, Pallavas and the Western Chālukya

successors, was practically lost before Amōghavarsha I could take up the command of the empire. A lover of peace by nature, with a yearning for literary pursuits and given to practice of religious austerities, Amōghavarsha was found to be a square man in a round hole. He was quite unfit for the task that lay before him. He could not stem the rushing tide. The policy of the Rāshtrakūtas of favouring the younger and weaker members of the families of kings overcome by them as against the older and legitimate ones tried in the case of the Western Gangas, Eastern Chālukyas and perhaps also the Western Chālukyas, in order to secure subordination, had been a total failure nay it was even fatal. It had only been useful in creating ephemeral dissensions which the reigning powerful sovereigns tided over, sometimes with ease and sometimes with a little difficulty. Even the adoption of the policy of reconciliation by means of marriage alliances was of no avail. One Śīlamahādēvī was taken from and another Śīlamahādēvī was given to the Eastern Chālukyas. Nandivarman III had for his queen a Rāshtrakūta princess by name Śāṅkhā and had by her a son called Nṛpatunga the same name that was also borne by Amōghavarsha I. To judge merely by the name there is a seeming likelihood of considering the Pallava Nṛpatunga as the grandson of Rāshtrakūta Amōghavarsha I. But it may be noted that it is impossible that Śāṅkhā could have been the daughter of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I for we are informed that this king was only six years old or a few years more in A D 814 and as such could not have had a grandson by his daughter who could be aged enough to become a ruler in A D 844. Nṛpatunga's date of accession is a fixed point in later Pallava chronology. It cannot be taken earlier than A D 844 for the reason that Varaguna Mahārāja II cannot figure as a subordinate in a record of the 18th year, as he actually does, and it cannot be later than that date for the reason that he and his successor Aparājita had reigned for 44 years before Tondamādu passed into the hands of the Chōla Āditya I in A D 888. It is,

therefore, certain, that Śankhā must have been a daughter of some other earlier member of the Rāshtrakūta line. Knowing as we do that Śankhā was a Rāshtrakūta princess, the name Nripatunga,—bearing the distinct impress of the Rāshtrakūta-*anvaya* like Sāhasatunga, Jagattunga etc,—given to Pallava in preference to a Pallava name, is suggestive of the esteem with which Nandivarman III should have looked upon the Rāshtrakūta connection and of his friendly attitude towards that family. Another important move made by the Rāshtrakūtas was, as noted already, the establishment of their capital at Mānyakhēta which could have afforded better opportunities for watching the progress of the enemy states, besides being, a central place for the base of their military operations. Conjointly with the Pallavas, the Rāshtrakūtas established a sort of political overlordship over the Western Gangas and they also appear to have had direct and closer touch with the administration of the province of Gangavādi. It is not unlikely that the Rāshtrakūtas had a similar hand in the administration of the Pallava kingdom. The exact relationship of Kampavarman with either the Pallavas or Rāshtrakūtas remains yet to be known. At any rate the name is not a familiar one among the Pallavas.

Looked at from any point of view, the reign of Amōghavarsha I was not a glorious one in that it had failed to lift up the family from its fallen depth. Two or three years before his death Amōghavarsha seems to have entrusted the government to his son Krishna II.

There is evidence to the fact that Krishna II was in charge of the government of his country in the last days of his father. We have a record of Śaka 797 (A D 875) issued by him. There is also evidence that from the day of his father's demise in A D 878, he became an independent ruler. The earliest known record of his found at Hirebidiri in the Dharwar district is dated in A D 878. He had chiefly to contend in the South with the

Western Gangas and Nolambas, and the Eastern Chālukyas. His Eastern Chālukya contemporaries were Vijayāditya III for the first ten years and the latter's successor Chālukya-Bhīma I for the rest of the period. Vijayāditya III was one of the most powerful sovereigns of his house and it is reported of him that he, at the request of the Raṭṭa, conquered the unequalled Gangas, killed the Nolamba chief Mangi in battle, put to flight Krishnavallabha who was allied with or supported by Sankila. These things seem to have occurred in the reign of Amoghavarsha I in whose days the Vallabha was attacking the Rāshtrakūtas of both the houses and we have also noted how the Gangas had practically become independent and thrown off the Rāshtrakūta yoke. There was every reason for the Rāshtrakūtas to seek the aid of the Eastern Chālukyas, to put down the matchless Gaṅga and the fierce Vallabha and their allies Mangi and Sankila. Vijayāditya III had an ancient grudge against the Vallabha for it was the latter's forces that were aiding Bhīma-Salukki against Vijayāditya II. Here one should not fail to note that Vijayāditya III, fighting at the request of the Raṭṭa, could not have among the enemies a prince of the Rāshtrakūta line. Therefore, that Kṛishna, whom Vijayāditya III overcame, must have been of a different house and also one of the open enemies of the Rāshtrakūtas. The Kalachumbgaru grant tells us that there was a Vallabha king named Kṛishna and it is very likely that this was the person against whom Vijayāditya III fought a few years ago. Vallabha being a hereditary foe of the Rāshtrakūtas there is reason to believe that Vijayāditya III, fighting on behalf of the Rāshtrakūtas should include him among the enemies. It seems improbable that the Vallabhācndra or Kṛishnavallabha could be the Rāshtrakūta Kṛishna II.

Now, of Kṛishnavallabha's friend and helpmate, it is said that he was called Ganda Sankila and that he was the lord of the Vaidumbas (A R on Ep for 1914, p. 85, and the same for 1923, part II, para 20). This statement, if it has been correct

made out, would invalidate the identity of Sankila with Sankara-gana, the brother-in-law of Rāshtrakūta Krishna II. Even if he be the brother-in-law of the Rāshtrakūta king, there is no objection to his being a friend of Kṛṣṇavallabha. Moreover from the passage which describes the various acts done by Vijayāditya III viz (i) *Noḷamba Rāshtrapatim Maṅgim hatvā*, (ii) *Dahaḷādīśam Gangānāsrita Gangākūtasikharāt nirjitya*, and (iii) *Sankilam ugra-Vallabhayutam bhāyayitva*, we do not find anything to connect Sankila with Dāhala. All that is said is that the lord of Dāhala was one among the chiefs overcome by Vijayāditya III. Another reference informs us that Vijayāditya burnt Chakrakūta, that he put to flight Sankila who was in company with Krishna and who had gone to Kīranapura, and that he defeated Vallabhēndra. There is not much in these references that would speak of Krishna and say definitely that he was a Rāshtrakūta. On the other hand, they say plainly that he was a Vallabha king. At any rate, the question may well await elucidation from future researches.

After the demise of Vijayāditya III in A D 888, Kṛṣṇa, like his predecessors, made a serious attempt to bring Vēṅgi-maṇḍala under his subjection. He is reported to have surrounded it with his forces, perhaps to install on the Eastern Chālukya throne a younger member of the family—Yuddhamalla—and to enforce the people to prefer him to the legitimate Vikramāditya, who had, during the life-time of Vijayāditya III, been anointed a *yuvarāja*. History records that the Vēṅgi country was, at the time, over-run by the army of the Rattas i. e. Rāshtrakūtas and of the agnates of the last late Eastern Chālukya king, just as by dense darkness after sunset (referring to the passing away of Vijayāditya III) (*tad-anu-savitary-astangatē tinnura patalēn-ēva Ratta-dāyada balēna abhivyāptam Vēṅgi-maṇḍalam*). But the attempt of the Rāshtrakūta was not successful, for Chālukya-Bhīma I the son of Vikramāditya, finally obtained the kingdom.¹

1 Jitvā samyati Kṛṣṇa Vallabha- mahādādam sa-dāyādikam Bhīmō bhūpatir anvaśvata bhuvanam

In this war also, the Vallabha king contributed his own might to the troubles of the Eastern Chālukyas. It is said that the Vallabha king assisted by Karnāta and Lāta, fought against Bhīma I¹ the son of this Bhīma called Iramartiganda, a prince of charming appearance and valour like Abhimanyu, learned and powerful, died after fighting bravely on the battle-fields of Niravadyapura (Nidadavōlu and Peruvangūr-grāma, killing in the latter place from the back of his elephant the general of the Vallabha king, Dandēna Gundaya²

The records of Indra III are dated in the Śaka years 836, 837 and 838 (A D 914, 915 and 916). They are the Bagumra plates and the stone inscriptions of Hiremagnūr. During his reign the governorship of Banavāsī was under Dōra and Bankēya. The Mahāsāmanta Bijja was ruling Kogalī 500, and Masīyavādī 140. There was fight with Anniga. He was practically succeeded by Gōvinda IV who is reported to have quietly (i.e. without bloodshed) set aside his brother Amōghavarsha II and usurped the throne. The records of Gōvinda IV range from Śaka 840 (Daṇḍapūr) to Śaka 855 (Kavajgere inscription and Sangli plates). Thus, they range in date from A D 918 to 933. Bankēya continued to have the rule of Banavāsī in Śaka 850. The plates record that the rivers Ganga and Yamunā were doing service at his palace, which means that he conquered and reduced to subjection the Chālukyas who had these emblems. We have already referred to a verse which states that when he started on a tour of conquest the *Pālādhvaja*, in the shape of the hands of a woman (Earth) released from the possession of an evil lord *Kunālha* danced with joy and paid regard to Gōvinda. There was trouble again with the Eastern Chālukya-Bhīma II (A D 934-45) who is reported to have defeated an army sent by Gōvinda IV (Ind Ant Vol XII p 249). The Maśūlipatam plates of Amma II record that Chālukya-Bhīma II expelled the dense darkness which was the

1 A.R. on S I Ep. for 1914, para 6 p 84 f

2 Ibid p 8L.

army of the Rāshtrakūtas (A R for 1909, para 60) Gōvinda IV is said to have given himself to evil ways, ruined his constitution, weakened the government and thus, met with destruction. Thus, though the commencement of the reign of Gōvinda IV was promising for the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas, by some successes scored by him, his valour was soon consumed by his extreme licentiousness and he became physically incapacitated and was beaten by his enemies. The State was all but ruined. But fortunately it was saved by the prevalence of wise counsel, which made the aged Amōghavarsha III assume the reigns of government. The Deoli plates say of Amōghavarsha III that he ascended the throne to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas. His reign is important for the marriage alliance that was contracted between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Western Gangas. Amōghavarsha's daughter Rēvakanimmadi was married to Bhūtuga II and this alliance could knit the two families more closely. Krishna III ascended the throne in A D 940 and in his earliest record (Deoli grant), he is stated to have deposed Rāchamalla and put in his place Bhūtuga II. Accordingly, the latter figures as a Rāshtrakūta feudatory in records dated in Śaka years corresponding to A D 942 (Rōn) 946 (Kurtkōti) and 949-50 (Naregal and Ātakūr). Krishna III came in conflict with the Chōlas. We must say a few words as to how this came about.

The powerful Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya III died in A D 888. In the Masūlipatam collector's office plates, it is reported that, besides burning the three cities Kīrānapura, Achalapura and Nellūrapura, he took by force the gold of the Ganga kings of Kalinga, the elephants of the kings of Kōsala and the gold of the Pāndyas and Pallavas in order that they may distribute them in charity. If this is not a mere boast, it would

At the gates of the palace of Vijayāditya III, there were carved the emblems Ganga, Yamunā, the Moon, the Sun and the Ilalikāṭana (tritiya Vijayāditya-dvārī-pratishṭhita-Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Chandra Āditya-Ilalikāṭana)

Yaj-jigāya Vijayōpamadyutīḥ Kṛṣṇnarājām ajitam narādhīpaḥ
Bhūri-Vikrama-vivarddhita-dyutīḥ Vīra Chōla itī tēna kīrtyatē ||

v 58, p 143 of T A S Vol III

The Proddatūru inscription probably refers to this in verse 21. This encounter between Parāntaka I and Kṛṣṇa III must have happened before A D 944. The fact recorded in 'the Kanyākumārī inscription has not only dispelled the illusion caused by a mistaken statement made in the Larger Leiden plates, but has confirmed the inference drawn from the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III found in the Tamil country, which are dated from the 5th year of his reign to the 28th i.e. from A D. 944 to A D 967. The statement made in the Leiden plates was that after Parāntaka passed away, his son Rājāditya became the lord of the earth and that the latter died in battle fighting with Kṛṣṇa-rāja. This had naturally given rise to the belief that the reign of Parāntaka I must have ended by A D 947 which is the date of the Ātakūr inscription mentioning the death of Rājāditya. Parāntaka's date of accession having been well fixed to be A D 907, the few inscriptions dated in years later than the 40th year of reign and one in particular which was dated in the 46th year began to be discredited. But recently an inscription of the 48th year of reign of Parāntaka I, expressed both in words and figures, was found, proving clearly that he reigned till A D 954- that Rājāditya, who died in A D 947, could not have succeeded him and that the clash with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III did certainly happen in the reign of Parāntaka I. A single attempt was made by the Chōlas to recover Tondaimandalam and it did cost the life of prince Rājāditya. Kṛṣṇa III had a state entry into the conquered country of Tandaimandalam in A D 947 and this is reported in the Chōlapuram record. The Karhad plates dated 9th March 959 A D, let us know that Kṛṣṇa III was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpadi and established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and built temples to Kālapriya,

Gaṇḍamārtāṇḍa, Kṛṣṇaśvara etc. A Bāgaḷi inscription of Kṛṣṇa III tells us that he was ruling from Mēlpāṭi in A D 956 which is three years before the date of the Karhad plates. That Kṛṣṇa III retained possession of Tondaimandalam till his death is amply proved by the existence of numerous inscriptions of his found in the Tamil country.

During the days of Kṛṣṇa III the Western Chālukyas, who had by constant fighting with the successive Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dantidurga, Kṛṣṇa I, Gōvinda II, Dhruva I, the three successive feudatory kings of the Gujerat branch of Rāshtrakūtās who were contemporaries of Āmōghavarsha I, and Gōvinda IV, having become exhausted, quietly bore the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke and were content to hold subordinate position under Kṛṣṇa III. One of the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III discovered at Bāgaḷi in the Bellary district¹, dated in Śaka 868, Krōdhi (A D 944-5) mentions the Mahāśāmanṭa Katyēra of the Chālukya family and stated that he was ruling over Kōgaḷi 500, and Māśiyavāḍi 140. Another record of the king found at Kārjōl in the Bijapur district², dated in Śaka 879, Pingala, Āśvayuja, su 5, Thursday (A D 956, September 11), registers a grant of land made to the Sambayyanakere (tank), while Tailapayya, a subordinate of the king was governing the *nādu*. Though the family to which Tailapayya belonged is not given in the record, we may take it that he was a western Chālukya, judging from his name. At the time of this record, Kṛṣṇa III is stated to have been ruling at Mēlpāṭi. A third record of the same king discovered at Bāgaḷi³ dated in Śaka 878, Naḷa (A D 956 December 23), refers to a grant made by a chief named Chālukyanārāyaṇa Dōrappayya. And the last of all is a record from Narśalgī of the Bijapur district⁴. It is dated in Śaka 886, Raktākshī etc., (A D

1 No 74 of M.E.C. for 1904 and 64 of S I I Vol IX Part I

2 No 178 of Bk No 1933-4

3 No 100 of M.E.C. for 1904 and No 66 of S I I Vol IX Part I

4 No 113 of Bk C for 1929-30 and No 40 of S I I Vol XI Part I

965, March 6), and states that the *Mahās'āmantādhipati* Āhavamalla Tailaparaśa entitled Chālukyarāma, of Śatyāśraya family was a subordinate of Akālavārsha (i.e. Krishna III). The feudatory is stated to have been governing Tarddavādī 1000, as *anunga jivita*. These records show that the position of the Western Chālukyas had dwindled down to that of the commanders of armies and that they were enjoying the remuneration fixed therefor in the shape of *Jivita*. We are reminded here of a similar subordinate position held by Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa under the Pallava Nandivarman III, of Narasanāyaka under the Vijayanagara emperor of his day, as well as of the later Pallava Peruñjīga under the Chōla Rājarāja III, which position, when the ruling kings became weak or suffered reverses at the hand of other kings, gave excellent opportunities to assert independence. The Western Chālukya Mahāsāmantādhipati Āhavamalla Tailaparaśa had not long to wait for such an opportunity. When Krishna III passed away and was succeeded by Khottiga, the Paramāra Śīyaka Harsha inflicted a severe defeat on the Rāshtrakūtas. Neither Khottiga nor his weaker successor Karkka was able to retrieve the loss or improve the position. Taila killed Muñja, and easily overthrew the Rāshtrakūta in battle, destroyed the two pillars of victory set up in the capital, and assuming to himself the ancient regal dignity reigned for 24 years.

This is the history of the hard and persistent struggle put up by the various members of the Śatyāśraya family from the days of Kirtivarman II, all through the period of existence of the Rāshtrakūtas since the time of Dantidurga, as we are able to gather from the records of their enemies. From these very records we could also gather that the last member of the Chālukya family, by virtue of his position as Mahāsāmantādhipati, had the power and means to contribute to the final triumph and accomplishment of the Western Chālukya object viz the recovery of the lost kingdom. In the several campaigns of

Kṛiṣṇa III, this scion of the ancient Śatyāśraya stock had ample opportunities of displaying his valour and proving his merit, which must have earned for him the meaningful title of Āhavamalla. It is significant that he had this title even before he assumed regal powers that soon awaited him. It is noteworthy that he is styled in the record of Kṛiṣṇa III a *Śatyāśraya* which proves that he did not foist it to his name when he became a ruler. Kṛiṣṇa's victories, glorious as they were, left to his successors a legacy of more enemies. The last two kings of the Rāshtrakūta line were not able to handle the situation, as well, as Kṛiṣṇa III. It is but natural that they should have had to depend on their powerful general. From the ancestral account furnished in several of the grants of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, it is gathered that, besides Taila II, his father and grandfather had contracted marriage relationship with the reigning kings of different houses. We might well agree with Fleet that the father-in-law of Taila's grandfather was the Rāshtrakūta Kṛiṣṇa II Bonthādēvi, the mother of Taila II, was the daughter of the Chēdi king Lakshmana. Taila II himself had married Jakkavve, a Rāshtrakūta princess. Taila's position as the chief *Sāmānta*, his command of the army, the connection of himself and his ancestors with the ruling families, added to his own proved abilities, must no doubt have secured for him a well deserved esteem, and there is nothing to be wondered at if he succeeded in the endeavour in which many had failed before him.

We have made an attempt in these lectures to trace the doings of the members of the western Chālukya line since the day they were overthrown by Dantidurga—with of course, a few missing links—till they regained their position. The names of the members are missing except for one Rāhappa. Even if they had been preserved, it is certain that they will not be found in the ancestry of Taila, who finally subverted the Rāshtrakūtas and got back the Western Chālukya kingdom, unless his pedigree

gave the members of all the collateral branches The object of a pedigree is to trace the line of descent of a king from the earliest celebrated ancestor There is no doubt that connected with the same early ancestor, there might have been numerous others during the space of two and a half centuries and it is vain to expect any of them in the genealogy of Taira II

W Chālukyas	Rāshtrakūtas	Pallavas and Chōlas	W. Gangas	E Chālukyas
609	742	696	726	709
Pulakēśin II	Dantidurga	Paramēśvara- Iaxman II		Viśnuvardhana III
642	758			716
655	Kṛishna I	Nandivarman Pallavamalla	Śrīpuruṣa	Viṣṇuāditya I
680	775		768	761
Viśramāditya I	Gōvinda and Dhruva			Viśnuvardhana IV
696	794	761		799
Vinayāditya	Gōvinda III			Viṣṇuāditya II
733	813		817	Narānratnagarāja
Viśramāditya II	Amōghavarsha	Dantivarman	Rājamalla I	813
746				Kaḷi Viśnuvardhana V
758	878	812	825	844
Kīrttiavarman II	Kṛishna II	Nandivarman III		Gunaga Viṣṇuāditya III
...	914	844	870	888
Rāhappa	Indra II	Nripatunga	Prithivīpati I	Chālukya Bhīma I
	917	870		918
	Amōghavarsha II	Aparājita		Amma I
	and Gōvinda IV	Āditya I		925
	935			Viśramāditya II
	Amōghavarsha III	907		926
	940			Yuddhamalla II
	968	Parāntaka I		934
				Chālukya Bhīma II
				945
				Amma II
				970
		955		

ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
4	27	unearths	unearth
6	15	with	copyist
11	1	copyists	insisted
21	33	insisted,	In
21	33	in	Bhāshyas
32	16	bashyas	giving
32	19	living	sishthas
32	22	sishthas	afford
34	3	affords	noting
35	1	notting	is
36	11	are	belief
36	23	belief	subtlety
37	25	subtlety	Periyapurāṇam
38	9	Periyapur-nam	agrees
42	24	agree	Pras'astis
42	31	Paśastis	indispensable
44	9	indispensible	descendant
16	4	descendent	descendant
47	2	descendent	descendant
47	7	descendent	feudal
48	34	feuda	descendants
49	2	descendent	Pottapī
49	19	Pattapī	do
19	21	do	Kandara
52	1	Kandhara	Kandararāja
52	14	Kandaraja	do
52	15	do	evident
54	24	evidence	the
55	5	he	rulers
56	4	rules	Pallava
58	16	pullava	without
58	16	witaut	Rāshtrakūtas
61	1	rāshtrakutas	added
63	12	add	accounts
64	7	account	obvious
66	16	obivous	samsēna
67	13	samāsana	Pālidhvajavalī
71	6	Pālidhvajavalī	n
71	13	n	Ane
80	26	Ane	incarceration
88	21	incarceration	incarceration
115	column 3 line 3	Paramēśvara laxman II	Paramēśvara varman II